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Of the Holy Supper of our Lord.

On those days on which the Lord's Supper is to be celebrated, the minister shall direct his sermon as much as possible to the subsequent service, and study brevity. After the sermon, and the public confession of sin and prayer, the following exhortation shall be read slowly and intelligibly, with emphasis and earnestness, at the table around which the supper is to be celebrated.

Form for the administration of the Holy Supper.

Institution of the
Lord's Supper according
to St. Paul.

} *Beloved in the Lord Jesus Christ:* Attend to the words of the institution of the Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ, recorded by the Holy Apostle Paul in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, the 11th chap: "For I have received of the Lord, that which I also delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus, the same night in which He was betrayed, took bread; and when He had given thanks, He brake it, and said: 'Take eat; this is my body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me.' After

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the same manner also He took the cup, when He had supped, saying: 'This cup is the New Testament in my blood: this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me.' For as oft as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show forth the Lord's death, till He come. Wherefore whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. But let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup; for he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh condemnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body."

That we now may celebrate the supper of the Lord to our comfort it is above all things necessary that we rightly examine ourselves; and in the next place that we direct it to that end, for which the Lord Jesus appointed it, namely the remembrance of Him.

1. Acknowledgment of sin. } Sincere self-examination consists of these three parts: In the *first place* that every one solemnly consider the greatness of his sins and condemnation, so as to abhor and humble himself before God; remembering that the wrath of God against sin is so great, that rather than suffer it to go unpunished, He hath punished the same in His beloved Son Jesus Christ, with the bitter and shameful death of the cross.

2. Faith in Jesus Christ. } In the *next place*, let every one examine his heart, and see whether he really believes the certain promise of God, that all his sins are forgiven, alone for the sake of the sufferings and death of Jesus Christ; and that the perfect righteousness of Christ is imputed and freely granted unto him as his own, as though he had himself made satisfaction for all his sins in his own person, and fulfilled all righteousness.

3. Pious purpose to lead a holy life. } In the *third place*, let every one search his conscience, whether he is sincerely resolved, henceforth, with his whole life, to prove his gratitude to God, and to walk uprightly before Him. And also whether he unfeignedly and heartily renounces all enmity, envy, and hatred, and has determined henceforth to live in true love and peace with his fellowmen.

As many therefore as are thus reminded, may feel assured that God will receive them in mercy, and acknowledge them as worthy guests of His Son Jesus Christ.

Warning against impenitent sinners. } Those on the contrary who have not this testimony of a good conscience, eat and drink judgment to themselves. Wherefore, according to the command of Christ and the Apostle Paul, we admonish all to

abstain from the table of the Lord, who know themselves to be guilty of the following sins, and declare unto them that they have no part in the kingdom of Jesus Christ: All idolaters; all who invoke deceased saints, angels, or other creatures; worshippers of images; enchanterers or diviners, using enchantments with cattle, mankind, or other things, and such as trust in those charms; all despisers of God, of His word, or the holy sacraments; blasphemers; schismatics and those who excite sedition in Church or State; perjurers; all such as are disobedient to their parents and superiors; all murderers, contentious and quarrelsome persons, who live in envy and hatred with their neighbors; adulterers, whoremongers, drunkards, thieves, usurers, robbers, gamblers, misers, and all who lead a scandalous life. These all, as long as they persist in such sins, must consider themselves excluded from partaking of this holy supper, and abstain therefrom, lest their judgment and damnation be more severe.

Weak, penitent believers, not to be discouraged.

} But this is not said, Beloved in the Lord, to discourage contrite believers, as though none might join in the supper of the Lord,

but such as are sinless. For we do not celebrate this supper, to show thereby that we are perfect and righteous in ourselves. On the contrary, by thus seeking our life and salvation out of ourselves, in Jesus Christ, we confess ourselves to be in the bonds of spiritual death. For we still discover many infirmities and miseries in our lives, knowing that our faith is weak and imperfect, and that we do not serve the Lord with becoming zeal, but have daily to fight with the infirmities of our faith, and the corrupt lusts of the flesh. But by the grace of the Holy Spirit, we heartily deplore these infirmities, contend against our unbelief, and sincerely desire to live according to all the commandments of God. Wherefore we may feel certainly assured, that no sin or infirmity, which may yet cleave unto us, against our will, shall hinder our gracious acceptance with God, or our worthy and profitable participation in this heavenly meat and drink.

II. The design of the Lord's Supper.

} Let us now, in the next place, consider to what end the Lord instituted His supper, namely that we do this in remembrance of Him.

1. For the confirmation of our faith.

} We are to remember Him, in the first place, by certainly believing, in our hearts, that our Lord Jesus Christ was sent into the world, by the Father, according to the promise made in the beginning unto our forefathers; that He took upon Himself our flesh and blood; that He endured for us the wrath of God, under which we must

eternally have perished, from His incarnation until the end of His life on earth, and rendered complete obedience unto the divine law, fulfilling all righteousness for us. But especially are we to believe that all this was done, when under the burden of our sins, and the wrath of God, He sweat great drops as it were of blood in the garden; when He was bound, that we might be released; when He then endured inexpressible reproach, that we might never be put to shame; was condemned to death, that we might be acquitted at the judgment-seat of God; and above all when He permitted His sacred body to be nailed to the cross, that He might fasten thereon the indictment of our sins; and so assumed our condemnation, that He might replenish us with His saving grace, abasing Himself into the deepest reproach and hellish anguish of body and soul, on the cross, when He cried out with a loud voice: 'My God! My God! Why has Thou forsaken me?' That He suffered all this in order that we might find acceptance with God, and never be forsaken, sealing the new and everlasting Testament, the covenant of grace and reconciliation, with the shedding of His blood, and with His death, when He finally said, 'It is finished.'

That we now might firmly believe, that we have part in this covenant, Our Lord Jesus Christ in the night in which was betrayed, took bread, and when He had given thanks, He brake it, and gave it to His disciples, and said, take and eat, this is my body which is offered for you; do this in remembrance of me.

In like manner also, after supper, He took the cup, blessed it, and gave it unto them, saying: Drink ye all of it, this cup is the New Testament in my blood, shed for you and for many, for the forgiveness of sins; do this as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me. That is, as oft as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall be reminded and assured, as by a certain remembrance and pledge, of this my hearty love and faithfulness unto you, who must have perished with everlasting death, had I not given my body to die for you upon the cross, and shed my blood to feed and nourish your hungry and thirsty souls with this same crucified body and shed blood, as certainly as you all see this bread broken, and this cup handed unto you, and you are permitted to eat and drink thereof with your mouth, in remembrance of Me.

From this institution of the holy supper of our Lord Jesus Christ, we see that He fixes our faith and confidence upon His perfect sacrifice, once offered upon the cross, as upon the only foundation and basis of our salvation, having Himself become the true meat and drink of eternal life unto our hungry and thirsty souls.

For by His death He hath removed the cause of our hunger and grief, namely sin, and procured for us the quickening Spirit, that we, through the same Spirit, dwelling in Christ as the head, and in us as His members, may have true fellowship with Him, and be made partakers of all His benefits, of eternal life, righteousness and glory.

2. For the futherance } *Another design of this Holy Supper is,*
of brotherly love. } that by the same Spirit, we may all be
knit together, as members of one body, in true brotherly love;
as the Holy Aposile Paul saith: *For as it is one bread, so we*
being many are one body, forasmuch as we are all partakers
of one bread. For as out of many grains one meal is ground,
and one bread is baked, and out of many berries pressed together
one wine and one drink floweth and commingleth; so also
shall we all, being incorporated with Christ by true faith, be one
body through brotherly love, for the sake of our blessed Saviour
Jesus Christ, who hath first so loved us; and that not in word
only, but in very deed. And hereunto may the Almighty and
Merciful God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ help us by
His Holy Spirit. Amen.

Let us Pray.

Prayer before the }
communion for }
true faith, sancti- }
fication and stead- }
fastness in the }
cross. }
Most Merciful God and Father, we beseech
Thee, that in this holy supper, in which we
celebrate the glorious remembrance of the
bitter death of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ,
Thou wouldest so operate upon our hearts
by Thy Holy Spirit, that we may surrender ourselves continually
more and more, with true faith, unto Thy Son Jesus Christ,
that our heavy-laden and contrite hearts may be nourished and
quickened with His true body and blood, yea with Him, as true
God and man, the only heavenly bread, by the power of the
Holy Ghost. And thus may we no more live in sin, but He in
us and we in Him, and be made so really to partake of the blessings
of the eternal Testament and covenant of grace, that we
may never doubt that Thou wilt be our Father forever, no more
reckoning our sins against us, but providing all things for us, for
soul and body, as Thy dear children, and heirs.

Grant unto us also Thy grace, that we may cheerfully bear
our cross, deny ourselves, confess our Saviour, and in all our
tribulations, with uplifted heads, expect our Lord Jesus Christ
from heaven, when He will make our mortal bodies like unto

His glorified and glorious body, and receive us with Himself into eternal life. Amen.

Our Father who art in heaven, &c. Amen.

Confirm us also, by this holy supper, in the catholic, undoubted christian faith, of which we make confession with heart and mouth, saying :

I believe in God, &c. Amen.

And now, Beloved in the Lord, that we may be fed with the true heavenly bread, Jesus Christ, let us not permit our hearts to cleave unto this external bread and wine, but lift them up in faith unto heaven, where Jesus Christ our advocate sitteth at the right hand of His heavenly Father, whither also the articles of our Christian faith direct us, not doubting that our souls shall be fed with His body and blood, through the operation of the Holy Ghost, as certainly as we receive the sacred bread and wine in remembrance of Him.

(The minister shall now exhort the communicants to approach the table of the Lord with becoming order and seriousness, publicly to confess and confirm their faith, and then he shall break the bread of the Lord and place it in each one's hand, saying :)

The bread which we break is the communion of the body of Christ.

(The other minister in presenting the cup shall say :)

The cup of blessing which we bless, is the communion of the blood of Christ.

(The administration of the communion being completed, the minister shall say :)

Beloved in the Lord, Inasmuch as the Lord hath now fed our souls at His table, let us praise His name with united thanksgiving, each one saying in his heart :

Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me bless His holy name. Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits : Who forgiveth all thine iniquities ; who healeth all thy diseases ; who redeemeth thy life from destruction ; who crowneth thee with loving-kindness and tender mercies. The Lord is merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy. He will not always chide : neither will He keep His anger forever. He hath not dealt with us after our sins ; nor rewarded us according to our iniquities. For as the heaven is high above the earth, so great is His mercy toward them that fear Him. As far as the east is from the west, so far hath He removed our transgressions from us. As a father pitieth His children, so the

Lord pitieth them that love Him. Who hath not spared His own Son, but hath delivered Him up for us all : wherefore should He not with Him also freely give us all things. Wherefore God sheweth His love toward us, in that while we were sinners Christ died for us. Much more then being justified by His blood, shall we be saved from wrath, through Him. For if, whilst we were enemies, we were reconciled unto God by the death of His Son : much more, being reconciled, shall we be saved by His life. Wherefore my lips and heart shall shew forth His praise, from henceforth forevermore. Amen.

OR THUS :

Almighty, and most Merciful God and Father, we give Thee hearty thanks, that of thine infinite mercy, Thou has given thine only begotten Son to be our Mediator, and the propitiation for our sins, and also our meat and drink unto eternal life ; and dost also grant us true faith, whereby we become partakers of these Thy benefits, for the confirmation of which faith, Thy beloved Son has instituted His holy supper. We beseech Thee, most faithful God and Father, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, to ble-s this commemoration of our Lord Jesus Christ, and showing forth of His death unto our daily growth in true faith and in fellowship with Him, for the sake of Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

(The minister shall then pronounce the benediction :)

The Lord bless thee and keep thee. The Lord let the light of His countenance shine upon thee, and be merciful unto thee. The Lord lift His countenance upon thee, and grant thee His peace. Amen.

Of the Power of the Keys, and Christian Discipline.

Whereas the proper and christian administration and use of the holy sacraments requires not only that they be observed in such form as has been appointed of God, but also that they be not allowed to such persons as are excluded therefrom by the word of God ; it is necessary that christian excommunication shall be exercised in the church not merely in word but in very deed. If therefore there should be any in the congregation, who are guilty of blasphemous doctrines, or of grievous sins, they shall not be admitted to the Lord's supper until they show amendment.

The Papal } And whereas urgent necessity requires that the
bann. } christian church be freed from the intolerable pre-

sumption, and terrible tyranny of the papish bann, whereby the Pope and his crew cast every thing under his feet; and whereas not only that which is evil should be eradicated and torn up, but also that which is good should be planted instead thereof; it is no less necessary that a christian and appropriate discipline should be instituted in christian congregations, according to the injunction of our Lord (Matth. xviii: 17, 18), and for the good of the church.

The elders of
the church, &
not the ministers
alone,
have the power
of the keys
in the case of
open sins.

But to prevent this exclusion from the use of the sacraments from falling into abuse and disorder, as in Popery; proper order and moderation shall be maintained, as is directed by Christ and the Apostle Paul. And above all this power shall not be vested in one or several church officers, or other individuals, but in the entire christian congregation, to whom the ministers as well as the humblest member of the church are subject. For if every preacher might put under bann whomsoever he would, at his own pleasure, the discipline would not be that instituted by Christ, but of Antichrist's devising.

Wherefore several honest and god-fearing men shall be selected from every congregation, as occasion and necessity may require, who on behalf—and in the name of the whole congregation, shall in connection with the ministers, take notice of such persons as are offensive either in consequence of dangerous errors in faith, or of sinful lives; (such as whoremongers, misers, idolaters, slanderers, drunkards, or of otherwise disorderly conduct,) so that they may be admonished, once, twice, or thrice, according to circumstances, to amend their ways. And should they then not change their lives, they shall be separated from the congregation, by forbidding them the holy sacrament, until they promise and give proof of amendment.

(Thus closes the third part of the Liturgy. The next general division contains a number of interesting and instructive services for various occasions. Of these we shall translate several in their regular order.)

IV.

OF OTHER CHURCH CUSTOMS AND SERVICES.

Of festivals and holy-days.

Holy-days shall be kept in the same manner as Sabbath.

The following days shall be regularly observed.

All Sabbath-days.

Christmas with the day following. New-year's day. Easter with the day following. Ascension day. Whitsuntide with the following day.

The scriptures to be preached upon on each of these festivals, have already been designated.

1. Of Church-psalmody and Garments.

In reference to the singing of Psalms, the Apostle Paul admonishes it to be done not only with the mouth, but with the heart, and that all shall be done to the edification of the church. But since the heart cannot praise God with what it does not understand; we herewith enjoin that no other but German psalms be sung in our churches, and that the same be selected with reference to the occasion and doctrine. Furthermore ministers shall use genteel and plain apparel, in the discharge of their official duties, as on other occasions.

2. Direction concerning the publication of marriages, and introductory form.

Whereas marriage is acceptable to God, and honorable in all, it is proper that it should be entered upon in the fear of God, sacredly and honorably. Wherefore it is a commendable christian rule that those recently betrothed, should be publicly announced in the church, and so be introduced into this holy state. Thus may they, and others, previously united in matrimony, receive profitable instruction from the word of God, concerning their relation and duties, and also be encouraged under the trials common to their state, and receive the prayers of the whole congregation, for God's blessing upon them.

This shall be done in the following manner: The minister shall admonish and strictly insist upon it that persons betrothed,

shall call upon with him several mutual friends as witnesses, in order to announce their intention to him a sufficient length of time before the rite is solemnized in the church, to enable him to ascertain whether they may be scripturally and lawfully united, lest their marriage should cause scandal and offence, and it should be found necessary to divorce them.

Wherefore henceforth every intended marriage shall be announced three times, or three several Sabbaths, in the church before the pulpit, in the presence of the assembled congregation.

Form of publishing a marriage.

N. and N. desiring to be united in holy matrimony according to due christian order, ask the prayers of the congregation; that they may be enabled to enter upon this holy state in the name of God, and maintain it to His praise. Should any person therefore have aught to object in the matter, he is requested to announce it in due time, or ever thereafter keep silence, and withhold all hindrance. God grant unto them His blessing. Amen.

Furthermore the names of the betrothed, and their witnesses, shall be recorded in a particular book, kept for the purpose in every church. Having been thus published for three Sabbaths, and presented themselves on the appointed wedding-day in the Church, (which however may not be on a Sabbath or Holy-day, so that persons may not be kept from the regular service by the marriage-festivities;) they shall stand in the front pews until called out by the minister, who shall place himself before the sacramental table, and there address them with the following exhortation:

(Then follows a marriage-ceremony, which to the parties addressed would doubtless in our day seem exceedingly long and tedious, and altogether too theological for such an occasion; but which nevertheless is highly interesting, solemn, and instructive, and deserving of frequent perusal, and careful study by all married persons. Its delivery would, if carefully read, occupy fifteen or twenty minutes at least. As a full and accurate translation of it may be found in the Liturgy of the Reformed Dutch Church, we shall omit it here, and pass on to the next office for which our Old Liturgy provides.)

Of the visitation of the Sick.

It is the Pastor's duty to give special attention & sympathy to each member of his flock. Acts: 20: 20.

The office of a true and faithful Pastor not only demands that he publicly instruct the flock over which he is placed, but also as far as possible privately admonish, reprove and comfort each one in particular.

But man is never more in need of divine instruction and comfort, than when suffering under an afflictive dispensation, when visited by calamity and sickness, and especially when overtaken by the sorrows of death.

1. Why the sick need special attention. } For under such afflictions, a man's conscience is more apt to be disquieted than at any other time, inasmuch as he feels himself as it were summoned to judgment of God. And moreover the assaults of Satan are more violent at such times, who hopes utterly to crush the poor, sick, and troubled heart, and finally precipitate the soul into the dark abyss of despair.

2. Why Pastors owe such faithfulness to the sick. Ps. 6: 10; Jer. 57: 16. } Wherefore as Ministers are the servants of God, and God is pleased, along with other glorious names, to reveal Himself especially under this, that He is "the refuge of the distressed, and saveth those that are of a broken and contrite heart," it is the duty of all Ministers to console distressed hearts, with all sympathy, faithfulness and diligence, and direct them, according to the gospel, unto Jesus Christ, who promiseth to help them in those exceedingly precious words: "Come unto me all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest."—Matth. xi: 28.

To what the Pastor shall have special regard in the commencement of his visits to the sick. } In visiting a sick person, the Minister must primarily pay attention to the particular state of his mind, and ascertain what his grief and distress may be; whether he is merely concerned about his bodily sufferings or the fear of death, or whether he is more particularly troubled on account of his sins and their penalty, or is otherwise tempted. When this has been duly ascertained, he shall impart suitable instruction and comfort wisely and prudently adapting the medicine to his sickness, condition, and perplexity, and taking care to say neither too little nor too much.

But inasmuch as all the sick are not afflicted with the same anxiety and distress, and therefore no such form of instruction and comfort can be prescribed as would be suitable for all cases;

the following points may nevertheless (according to circumstances) be presented and dwelt upon.

Truths to be impressed upon the minds of the sick. } First: That our sicknesses do not come upon us accidentally, but from the hand of God, in His paternal providence, so that we may be brought to feel our sins as the cause of all our misery and wo, humble ourselves before God, and implore His grace and help. Wherefore the minister must see well to it, that the sick acknowledge and feel their sins, and heartily deplore and repent of them. Should this not be the case, he must faithfully hold up the law of God, and so set their sins before their eyes, in order that they may know and feel the merited wrath of God against sin, and awake to a desire for mercy. For without such knowledge and conviction they will not be susceptible of true and solid comfort.

The grace of God for the pardon of sin. } But as soon as the sick give evidence of such grief of heart, they shall not be further alarmed, but encouraged with the promises of the gospel. And thus in the second place, he shall proclaim unto them the grace of God in Jesus Christ, promised in the gospel to all penitent and believing sinners. John iii: 16; Matth. xi: 28; Ezek. xxxiii: 11; Rom. viii: 1, 31-34, 38, 39, &c.; 1 Tim. i: 15; John i: 7, 9; Is. liii: 4, 5.

And such comfort can be very appropriately derived from the first question of the Catechism, and impressed by the scriptures there quoted, or others of like import; as for instance that their sick and afflicted body, as confined to the bed of disease, together with the weary and distressed spirit, belong unto the Lord Jesus Christ, are redeemed by His precious blood from sin, and all the power of the devil, and will be preserved unto eternal life. In the same manner the articles of our christian faith may be explained, the minister showing from the word of God, how each one, especially the last four, afford consolation to the sick and afflicted.

Exhortation to patience. } In the third place, the minister shall present good reasons drawn from the word of God, why the sick should resign themselves wholly to the will of God, so that should it please their allwise and faithful Father in heaven, to call them away in their sickness from this vale of tears, they may cheerfully renounce their weary and wasting life, and everything earthly, and prepare themselves for an eternal and blessed life above; not permitting wife or children, or friends, or pleasures or riches, or whatever else the world may possess, that is counted desirable, to distress them. Especially since there is

no comparison between those things which we leave behind, and those awaiting us in heaven. Our wives and children will be well provided for by the Lord, who is the Father of the widow and orphan. Our kind and dear friends, whom we leave, will soon follow us to our eternal home. Temporal possessions are perishing, and could not long comfort us. Whilst there we shall find fullness of joy, and at God's right hand pleasures for evermore. Phil. i: 23; Matth. x: 37; 1 Cor. vii: 29, 30, 31; Philip. iii: 8, 9; Ps. 68: 6; 46: 9; 2 Sam. xii: 23; Ps. 49: 18; xvi: 11; 1 Cor. ii: 9.

It may be proper also sometimes, when the sick are visited for the first time, to address them with the following exhortation, or something similar thereto:

Beloved Friend, since our heavenly Father hath visited you with bodily infirmity, it becomes you to receive this fatherly chastisement of the Almighty with patience, casting yourself upon His own good and gracious pleasure, in full assurance, that all things shall work together for good to them that love God. And that you may properly do this, consider diligently the following points set forth in the word of God. First, that all bodily afflictions are sent upon men by the Lord, on account of sin. For death came by sin, together with all the miseries belonging to the kingdom of death; so that had sin not entered the world, neither death nor disease would ever have afflicted mankind. But since we are brought under sin by the fall of our first parents Adam and Eve, through the instigation of the Devil, we are also subject to the punishment threatened against sin by God, which is death, and all the infirmities, sicknesses, misery and wo, that lead to death.

Christ redeems from sin and death.	}	On the other hand however, that we may
		not despair in our sins, and sicknesses, and temptations, nor perish in the fear and anguish of

death, you must consider that God, of His great compassion and mercy, appointed and gave His only begotten Son Jesus Christ, to be our Mediator, Redeemer, and Saviour. He assumed our nature, and offered Himself in the same for the satisfaction of our sins, all which were heaped upon Him by our Heavenly Father, as we are assured in His blessed Gospel. And now all are commanded to repent, believe and trust, that for the sake of this satisfaction and atonement of Jesus Christ His Son, He is willing again to become our reconciled Father forever, to forgive all our sins, as though we never had committed any, and to grant unto us the Holy Ghost, by whom we may be renewed in the image of God, unto eternal life. And further we are to be as-

sured, that He will raise up our bodies in the last day by His Son Jesus Christ our Lord, re unite them with the soul, and make them like unto His own most glorious body, and admit us, as His own redeemed people, to the heavenly inheritance, to joys which no eye hath seen, no ear heard, and no heart conceived; all which is also confirmed and sealed unto us by the right use of the holy sacraments.

Assurance of the } For as certainly as we and our children are
pardon of sin by } baptized with water, by which bodily defile-
baptism. } ments are removed so certainly are we also
washed, cleansed and sanctified by the blood and Spirit of Christ, from our inward impurities. That is, God has, for the sake of the shedding of Christ's blood, pardoned all our sins, and sanctifies us by His Holy Spirit unto eternal life.

By the holy } And as certainly as we see, in the Holy Supper,
supper. } that the bread of the Lord is broken, and the cup extended to us, and we eat and drink of the bread and wine in remembrance of Him, so certainly is also the body of our Lord Jesus Christ offered and broken and His blood shed on the cross for us, and thus become the true manna, the proper meat and drink for our souls unto eternal life.

We are therefore to feel assured, by the promised grace of God, offered to us in the gospel and in the holy sacraments, that no sins are so great and grievous, as to exclude us from the mercy of God in Jesus Christ; and thus we may comfort ourselves with true faith in the merits of His sufferings and death, and embrace the same with hearty confidence.

In the third place, we must surrender our will entirely to that of our gracious and eternally righteous Father, not being terrified or alarmed at death, knowing that the temporal death of believers is only a sleep, and no death, yea an end of all the misery and wretchedness of this sinful life, and the door of entrance into eternal life. Neither should our husbands, wives, or children, father, mother, or friends, or aught that may be dear to us in this world, distress us, because we must be torn from them, and bid them adieu, seeing that nothing we forsake here is worthy of comparison with the felicity we shall find in heaven; and that our heavenly Father who hath hitherto preserved us, will also be a Father to those whom we leave behind, that He will have compassion on them, and provide for them, as He hath hitherto done for us.

Wherefore beloved Friend, possess your soul in patience, and commend yourself, soul and body, unto your faithful heavenly Father, and unto your Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath redeemed

you, not doubting but that He will lay nothing upon you beyond your strength, and help you to bear all, and so order the issue of your affliction, that you shall not only be able to endure it, but that it shall be promotive of His glory and your eternal welfare and salvation. It is your duty also cheerfully to forgive any that may have wronged you, even your enemies, and patiently await promised deliverance. And should it please the Lord to raise you up again from your sick bed, and restore you to health, it will become you to exercise yourself more diligently than ever in earnest and sincere repentance and in holiness of life, remembering the command of Christ: "behold thou art made whole, sin no more lest a worse thing come upon thee."——

And inasmuch as it is the duty of Pastors to visit the sick of their flock not only once but frequently, and without waiting for special invitation, in order that these visits may not be fruitless, they should read a chapter of the sacred scriptures to them, unless their weakness or illness should forbid it. Among those most appropriate for the comfort of the afflicted are the following: John 10, 14, 15, 16, 17; Luke 15; Rom. 5, and 8; 1st Cor. 15; 2 Cor. 4, 5; Is. 53; Ps. 22, 23, 25, 27, 42, 51, 91, 103, &c.

Should however the debility or suffering of the sick not allow of their listening to an entire chapter or Psalm, brief passages of scripture, selected from among the most consoling may be slowly repeated and impressed on their mind, such as Matth. ix: 2, Be of good cheer, my son, thy sins are forgiven thee. 1 John 1: 7, The blood of Jesus Christ the Son of God cleanse us from all sin. Phil. 1: 21, 23, For me to live is Christ, but to die is gain, &c. Ps. 73: 25, 26, Whom have I in heaven but Thee, and there is none upon earth, &c. Rom. xiv: 8, For whether we live we live unto the Lord or whether we die, &c. Ps. 37: 5, 7, Commit thy way unto the Lord, &c. Job xix: 25, I know that my Redeemer liveth, &c. Ps. xxx: 5, For His anger endureth but for a moment, &c.

The Pastor shall also unite in prayer with those present, wherever the circumstances will allow of it, using either the following language, or something similar thereto:

Prayer with the Sick.

Everlasting and most merciful God and Father, in whose hand lieth life and death, and who dost so continually preserve us, that without Thy will not a hair can fall from our head, and by Whom all things that befall us in this life are made subservi-

ent to our salvation: We beseech Thee, that as Thou visitest us with bodily infirmities and sorrows, Thou wouldest also grant us the grace of Thy Holy Spirit, so that Thy Fatherly chastenings may teach us rightly to know Thy Justice and Mercy. For we confess that our multiplied sins have richly merited these chastenings. Yet would we regard these visitations of Thy gracious Providence, not as intimations of Thy wrath, but of Thy paternal love toward us, seeing Thou chastenest us that we may not be condemned at last with this wicked world. O! most merciful God, forgive we implore Thee, all our sins, for the sake of the bitter passion and death of Jesus Christ Thy Son, our only Mediator and Saviour. Grant us patience and steadfastness, in true dependence upon Thy mercy. Alleviate graciously our sufferings, laid upon us by Thy righteous hand, and so control them according to Thy Fatherly will, that they may subserve the glory of Thy name, and the salvation of our souls, for the sake of Thy well-beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Our Father, &c.

Grant us also continual and growing steadfastness in our old, undoubted Christian Faith:

I believe in God the Father, &c.

Prayer for the Dying.

Almighty, and most merciful God and Father, I praise and thank Thee, for my body and my soul, and that Thou hast so kindly and mercifully preserved and protected them. But above all I praise Thee that Thou hast given unto me Thy dear Son Jesus Christ, who hath redeemed me from sin, and all the power of the devil, and eternal death, and damnation. And since it is now Thy holy will to call me from this valley of tears to Thyself in eternal joy and bliss, and make me thus a full partaker of the glory procured for me by Thy dear Son, my Saviour: I beseech Thee graciously to alleviate for me the pains and terrors of my approaching death, nor suffer me to be tempted in the last agony beyond the strength which Thou hast given me. O! gracious Lord, strengthen the weakness of my flesh, by the power of Thy Holy Spirit, and enable me, with true and firm reliance upon Thy mercy, manifested in Jesus Christ, to depart in peace, with aged Simeon, and enter joyfully into Thy heavenly kingdom. Most Gracious Father, into Thy hands I commit my Spirit for Thou hast redeemed me, O! Lord, Thou faithful God. Amen.

Of administering the communion to the Sick.

The sick must not be permitted to lie long without being visited. } Whereas experience proves that many persons neglect themselves & their friends in sickness, so that they sometimes even die without being visited or comforted by their Pastor; and further that too many then first send for the minister, to visit them and administer the sacrament; when they are already in the agonies of death, or so oppressed with sickness, that they can no more receive instruction, or give account of themselves: It is thought highly necessary, that sick persons, especially those who may not have friends around them able to instruct and comfort them, should not be permitted to lie longer than three days at most, without sending for the proper Pastor. And in case this should be neglected, the minister shall feel it his duty to visit them without a special invitation.

Why the Holy Supper is to be administered to the sick. } And although the people are to be instructed at the regular weekly services, and at other times, how they may comfort themselves by fellowship with Christ, by which they have been previously assured in Baptism and the Supper, according to the gracious promise of God: nevertheless, if the sick desire to receive the supper of the Lord in their own houses, it shall not be denied them, but under these two considerations, which are to be carefully noted:

First.—If the minister has reason to suspect that the sick person holds the *opinion de opere operato*, and regards the communion as essential to his salvation, he shall earnestly and faithfully dissuade him from such an idolatrous error, and instruct him in the right use of the Lord's Supper.

Secondly.—Those in the house, or present with the sick person, shall be exhorted to unite with him in the communion, so that this institution of the Lord may not be violated; remembering that His Supper must be celebrated by a company of Christians, be it large or small.

As to the Form to be used on such occasions; the minister shall use an abbreviation of that given above, for the instruction of the sick person. After this the Confession of sin shall be read together with the scriptures assigned for the comfort of the sick, the Lord's prayer, the Articles of our common Faith, and the words of the institution of the supper. Then the supper itself may be administered, and the whole service concluded with the usual thanksgiving and benediction.

Of the Visitation of Prisoners.

Prisoners should receive
timely and frequent vis-
its.

Inasmuch as prisoners need consola-
tion no less than the sick, they shall
receive the services of the Minister not
only at the time of their execution, and when the terrors of
death are upon them, when they are hardly capable of compre-
hending or receiving comfort, but shall be previously often visi-
ted and consoled. And if more than one minister is at hand,
they may alternately attend to this duty.

Especially such as
are greatly dis-
tressed.

And should some seem to be particularly
cast down, they shall be visited the more
frequently and diligently.

What instructions
they should receive.

And whereas prisoners are mostly very
ignorant of the true basis of salvation, they
shall be questioned concerning the principal points of christian
doctrine, and made to learn and recite them. These shall then
be explained to them according to the circumstances and crime
of the prisoner. The doctrines of sin, the judgment of God
against sin, and justification through Christ shall be particular-
ly pressed upon them. And in connection with this, the follow-
ing or similar scriptures shall be presented to them and explain-
ed, for their admonition and comfort.

*Exhortations to a discovery of sin, and true repentance toward
God.*

Isaiah lv: 6, 7, "Seek ye the Lord while He is near, &c."
Ezek. xviii: 33, "Thinkest thou that I have pleasure in the
death of the sinner, &c."—v: 27, "If the wicked forsake his
unrighteousness which he hath done, &c." Jer. iii: 7, 13, 22,
"Turn thou unto Me. Only acknowledge thine iniquity, &c."
Malac. iii: 7, "Turn unto Me, and I will, &c." Hos. xiv: 3,
Joel ii: 12, 13, "Turn unto Me with all your heart, with fast-
ing, &c." Is. i: 16, "Wash you, make you clean, &c." Jer.
xxxi: 18, "Turn Thou me, and I shall be turned, &c."

Consolatory Passages.

Matth. xi: 28, 29, "Come unto me all ye that are weary,
&c." Rom. v: 8-10, "For God commendeth His love toward
us, &c." Rom. viii: 1, "There is therefore now no condem-
nation, &c."—also v: 31-39, "What shall we say then? If

God be for us, &c." Luke xxiii: 32, 39-43, "And there were also two others, malefactors, led with Him to be put to death. And one of the malefactors, which were hanged, railed, &c." Luke xviii: 13, "And the publican stood afar off, &c." Matth. ix: 2, "Be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee." 1 John i: 7, "The blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin." 1 Tim. i: 15, "This a faithful saying, &c." John vi: 39, 40, "This is the will of the Father that hath sent me, that I should lose nothing, &c." John x: 28, 29, "I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, &c."

Examples of great sinners who obtained mercy.

David, Manasseh, Mary Magdalene, the Thief on the cross, Peter, Paul, the Prodigal Son, &c., &c. In some cases also, the thirty second Psalm may be read; also Ps. 50, 51, 130, the prayer of Manasseh, &c.

Of the Burial of the Dead.

In the burial of the dead all popish and superstitious ceremonies are to be avoided.

But it is nevertheless proper for us to commit our departed and deceased friends to the earth with respect and decency, and to connect therewith such services as may be profitable to the living.

In the first place when the hour has arrived for removing the corpse to the place of interment, the church bell may be rung, but simply for the purpose of informing those who may desire to accompany it that the hour of assembling has arrived. And should the children of the school be present, the removal of the corpse may be attended with singing.

After this, when the body has been brought to the church for burial, the minister shall read to the assembly, the scripture concerning the dead in Christ from 1 Thess. iv: 13 to the end of the chap.; or the narrative of the death and resurrection of Lazarus, John xi: 1-47; or passages of similar import; prefacing what he reads with an introduction to the following effect:

Beloved Friends, We have now committed to the grave, one who we comfortably believe and hope, was a true member of our Lord Jesus Christ. And that we may not leave this place without profitable instruction, we will select a portion of the word of God, and meditate upon its application to the solemn

occasion on which we have been assembled. Let us however first of all supplicate God for His Spirit and grace, in the language of that prayer which our Saviour himself hath taught us:

Our Father who art in heaven, &c.

Funeral sermons shall avoid all extravagant praises of the dec'd. } Hereupon shall follow a short sermon or exhortation, in which all extravagant commendation of the departed shall be avoided, lest funeral sermons should fall into abuse.

Topics to be especially dwelt upon. } Funeral sermons or exhortations shall aim especially at admonishing and exhorting those who are in attendance to such holiness of life as may issue in a happy and peaceful death. This will be the better secured, and be done more profitably, if one or the other of the following topics is dwelt upon, viz: Of the death, burial, resurrection, and glorification of the body.

In reference to death the following points merit consideration:

1. Whence death proceeds, viz: from the fall and disobedience of our first parents; and why it has been inflicted upon men.

2. The natural effect and operation of death upon men, viz: by it we are deprived of all temporal comforts, made subject to bodily sickness and grief, and afflicted in spirit with inward troubles.

3. How great a blessing death hath been made through Jesus Christ, since all the sufferings of believers are now hereby transformed into eternal joys.

4. The necessary preparation for death. To this belongs—First, a true firm faith, with which the grace of God in Christ is embraced. Secondly, True conversion to God, perseverance and growth in the same, since without this there can be no true faith.

Thirdly, That we deny ourselves, that is cast away all our evil lusts, submit entirely to the will of God, and allow nothing to be so dear to us, that we would not be ready cheerfully to leave it for His sake.

Fourthly, Seasonable and habitual meditations upon the grace and salvation furnished in the word of God, and upon our approaching departure from the world.

Fifthly, Earnest and constant supplication to God for the continual supply of His holy spirit, and a peaceful death.

Sixthly, How to comfort ourselves in view of our own death, and that of our friends, and dispel the fear of it from our hearts. Against the fear of eternal death we may suggest this comfort to believers, that Christ died for our sins, and arose again for our justification: Whence follows—

1. That there is no condemnation for those who are in Christ, and they will not taste the bitterness of eternal death.

2. That we are already transplanted with Christ in heavenly places; that we are as fully assured of our blessed resurrection, and glorification, as though we were already in the actual enjoyment of future glory.

Against the fear of temporal death and its antecedent pains and temptations, we have this assured comfort, that God will not suffer us to be tempted above what we can bear; that He will also be with us in the dark valley of death; and that we with His Son Jesus Christ, our Saviour, shall through the sufferings of death be crowned with honor and glory.

In connection with what is said concerning the Burial of the dead, reasons may be assigned why the bodies of the deceased are buried in (or near) the house of God, and accompanied thither with due respect and decency by an assembly of friends. Especially should it be explained that it is not done as though the deceased would be benefitted at all by our funeral services, seeing that believers, as soon as they depart enter into eternal life, and unbelievers into eternal damnation, and the former therefore do not need our help, whilst the latter cannot receive it. But these services are held for the benefit of the living, that they may thus renew their confession of faith in the resurrection of the dead; show their affection for their departed friends; praise God for the comfortable assurance they have that all the faithful pass from this life into eternal felicity, and that He is thus gathering unto Himself from our midst an eternal Church; and beseech Him to preserve them in the enjoyment of this comfort unto the end, and so collect and qualify from among them such as shall forever acceptably serve Him; and therefore lead them to a proper contemplation of the death which awaits them.

In reference to the doctrines of the resurrection of the dead, and the glorification of the bodies and souls of believers, the assembly shall be especially instructed in the certainty of the resurrection of our bodies from death, concerning the subsequent condition of the faithful in eternal life, and then be shown how both doctrines minister to the amendment of our lives, and the peace of our consciences.

Upon these and similar points therefore, the minister shall briefly instruct the people on funeral occasions, by the exposition of such portions of scripture as are appropriate.

After the sermon or exhortation a prayer shall be offered having more immediate reference to the subject which has been set forth, according to the following form :—

(Here follows a prayer, and other services connected with the interment of the body. A number of pages however being wanting in the copy before us, a translation of the remaining portions of this interesting section must be given up. It is to be hoped however that this deficiency may be supplied from some other source. The same remark will apply to the *form of baptizing Ana-baptists*, which appears to follow the Burial service, the first paragraphs of which are also missing.)

Formula in Baptizatione Judæi adhibenda.

Primo praelegantur verba Formulæ ordinariæ ab initio usque ad verba: And although our children, quorum loco legentur sequentia.

But although the children of believers, notwithstanding their inability to understand the mysteries of Baptism, are nevertheless to be baptized by virtue of the covenant in which they stand with God; it is by no means to be permitted in the case of such as have reached adult years from among Jews, Turks, or Heathen, unless they have previously felt their sins, and acknowledged their repentance and faith in Christ. Thus John the Baptist baptized those only who confessed their sins; and our Lord commanded his disciples to teach all nations, and baptize them, adding the promise, "he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved." Wherefore the Apostles also, according to this rule, baptized no adults, but such as made profession of their repentance and faith. Whence it is evident, that we are not permitted to baptize an adult, or one that has reached mature years, especially one who has been a Jew, Mohammedan or Heathen, unless he have first been made acquainted, by the preaching of the gospel, with the mysteries contained in Holy Baptism, and so be prepared to give an account of his faith by oral confession.

Whereas therefore you, N. N., by birth a Jew have presented yourself at this time, desiring to be baptized, to the end that you may thus receive the seal of fellowship with the church of God, and also to signify that you not only embrace the christian religion in which you have been instructed, and whereof you have made confession before us, but also purpose to regulate your life according thereto by the grace of God; I exhort you, in the presence of God and his church, to answer the following questions uprightly and without hypocrisy.

1. Do you heartily believe in the only true God, distinct in

three persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, who out of nothing made heaven and earth and all that is therein, and continues so to uphold and govern the same, that nothing can take place in heaven or upon the earth without His divine will? Then answer—*Yea*: Respon. *Yea*.

2. In the next place do you believe that you were conceived and born in sin, and wert consequently by nature a child of wrath, incapable of any good, and inclined to all evil, and that in thought, word, and deed you have often broken each of the ten commandments of God; and do you heartily deplore these sins? Then answer—*Yea*:—Res. *Yea*.

3. Do you further believe that Jesus Christ is true and eternal God, and also true man, who assumed His human nature from the flesh and blood of the virgin Mary, and that He is given to be your Redeemer; and that by faith in Him you receive the forgiveness of sin through His blood, and so are made a member of Christ and His Church by the power of the Holy Ghost? Then Answer *Yea*: Res. *Yea*.

4. Do you receive the entire sacred scriptures, contained in the books of Moses and the Prophets of the Old, and the writings of the Apostles and Evangelists of the New Testaments, as the very word of God; and do you assent to all the articles of the Christian Religion as taught in the Reformed Church of Heidleberg and the entire Palatinate, according to the word of God, and do you purpose to remain steadfast in the same until the end of your life? And do you accordingly renounce all heresies and errors that conflict with these articles, especially unbelieving and Christ denying Judaism, and herewith solemnly vow, that in the fellowship of this christian Church, you will not only give heed to the preaching of the word of God, but diligently persevere in the use of the Holy sacrament? Then Answer—*Yea*: Res. *Yea*.

Votum.

May the Almighty and most merciful God grant unto you this your solemn purpose and pledge, His grace and blessing through Jesus Christ. Amen.

In order now that this holy ordinance of God may promote His glory, and minister to our comfort and edification, let us unitedly call upon His holy name:—

Almighty and eternal God, &c.—*per omnia, ut habet formula ordinaria, modo loco verborum: this child, ponantur this Thy servant.—Our Father, &c.*

Confess with me also the articles, &c.

Do you now desire, with true faith in the promise of God in Jesus Christ, given unto you and all of us to be our Saviour, that He would be our God to the latest generation, to be baptized upon this faith, and receive the seal of adoption with God? Then Answer *Yea*: Res. *Yea*.

Ad testes presentes.

And are you, who are here present to be witnesses of this baptism, willing to be witnesses thereof, and of the confession made by this person now to be baptized? Then Answer *Yea*: Res. *Yea*.

Thou hitherto named N. N., what name do you choose in this new religion you are embracing?

Hic flexis genibus sacramentum Baptismi accipiat.

Let us praise the Lord.

Almighty and most Merciful God our Father, we praise and thank Thee, that for the sake of the death of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ, Thou hast forgiven all our sins, and by Thy Holy Spirit made us members of Thine only-begotten Son, and accepted of us as Thy children, all which is sealed and confirmed unto us by holy Baptism. We also beseech Thee, for the sake of Thy dear Son, that Thou wouldest ever govern this baptized person by Thy Holy Spirit, that he may continually grow up in Christ, confess Thy fatherly goodness and mercy, which Thou hast manifested unto him and to us all, and live in all righteousness under our only Prophet, Priest and King Jesus Christ, fighting valiantly and prevailing against sin, the devil, and his kingdom; and so may ever praise and glorify Thee and Thy Son Jesus Christ, together with the Holy Ghost, the only true God. Amen.

Post gratiarum actionem.

And now I exhort you, N. N., who have been solemnly baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to consider, that by the reception of this sign and seal of the Divine covenant in Baptism, you have publicly, in the presence of God, and His holy angels, and this christian congregation, renounced the devil, the world with all their works and lusts, surrendered yourself unto the Lord, and obligated yourself henceforth to live unto Him in all holiness and obedience according

to the gospel. And do you, who have been present as witnesses, regard it as your solemn duty, ever to encourage this baptized person to use all diligence in endeavoring to grow in grace and in the fear of God, according to the articles of our christian faith, and the doctrine which has been revealed from heaven, and is contained in the Old and New Testaments. And may the eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ mercifully grant this. Amen.

Claudit actum communis benedictio :

The Lord bless thee and keep thee, &c.

Form to be used upon the admission of young persons to a public profession of their faith, and on their first approach to the table of the Lord.

Address to the congregation.

Beloved in the Lord, these young persons who now appear before you, are fellow-heirs with us of the grace of God in Jesus Christ. In their infancy they were incorporated with Christ and His Church by Holy Baptism. And now, having been instructed according to the measure of the grace of God granted unto them, in the knowledge of divine truth, and christian piety, they desire to be united in closer and firmer fellowship with their Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by participation in the Holy Supper. And to give evidence of their sincere desire and pious purpose, as also of their faith, and their determination to submit themselves entirely to Christ their Lord, and devote themselves to our true christian fellowship; and further to assure you of their purpose by the grace of God to continue steadfast in this faith against all temptations unto death, they here present themselves publicly before God and this christian congregation, to make their public profession and vow.

Our Lord Jesus Christ calls and commands all, who feel their infirmities, and the heavy burden of their sins, to come unto Him, with the consoling assurance that He will grant them abundant rest. And to increase our confidence in this invitation He hath, besides His blessed word and holy Baptism, also instituted and appointed the sacrament of His body and blood, that it, together with the preaching of His word and Baptism, may be communicated unto pious and contrite believers, for the confirmation of their faith, and the comfort of their troubled consciences. By the use of this sacrament we may however also be encouraged and obligated to new obedience and sanctification. It would therefore not become us, to hinder or reject those

from the grace and mercy of God, whom our Lord Jesus Christ hath called, and to whom He extends His rich blessings.

In order therefore that we may do all in our power to promote their soul's salvation, we will now receive the profession of their faith, and their consecration of themselves to God and His Church, comforting them with the promise of divine grace and the assistance of the Holy Ghost, and finally supplicate God graciously to complete the work which He has so mercifully begun in their hearts.

(Then follows a summary of the Heidelberg Catechism, of which we have a sufficiently full and accurate translation in the well-known Compendium, to render a translation and insertion of it unnecessary in this place.)

This profession of faith being made, the confirmants shall approach the altar, and each one answer and pledge himself in the following questions.

I. N. N., do you believe heartily all that you have here professed in answer to the questions which have been asked? Answer, Yea.

II. Do you renounce the devil and all his works and ways, and all worldly wickedness? Ans. Yea.

III. Do you hereby solemnly devote yourself to the obedience of Christ and His Church, according to the word of God, and promise to grow in faith, and knowledge, and piety, and persevere in so doing against all temptations until by the grace of God you reach a blessed end, faithfully holding to all that you have here professed?

Ans. Yea: By the grace and assistance of our Lord Jesus Christ.

When this answer is given, they shall confirm the vow by extending to the minister their right hand, who shall then, laying his hands upon each one, say:

May God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, grant unto you His grace, defend and protect you against all sin, strengthen and confirm you in all piety, for the sake of the merits of our only Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

Address to the Confirmants.

Having now made a profession of your faith, and solemnly vowed that it is your firm purpose to live consistently with this faith; you may approach the table of the Lord, if you really

hunger and thirst after this spiritual food, and heartily propose henceforth to live godly in Christ Jesus. Only consider well that God is a true and faithful God, Whom it becometh us to serve in spirit and in truth. You have been already incorporated with Christ and His Church by Baptism, and are thereby obligated to serve God all the days of your life. But now you have with full knowledge and personal consent confirmed this obligation, and shall accordingly be admitted to the holy sacrament. Be not deceived, God is not mocked. Should you not remain faithful in the knowledge of the truth; or deny the same by a sinful life; your condemnation will be the more dreadful, seeing that you know the will of the Lord, and have so solemnly bound yourself unto it, and yet have not done it.

God Himself, and this congregation is witness to your promise, and you will be required to give account thereof in the last day. Wherefore see to it that you pay your vows. Think not that you are already perfect, but press onward that you may grow in knowledge and in grace unto perfection in the Lord.

Further address to the Congregation.

And may you, Beloved in the Lord, be this day reminded of the covenant which you have made with God. Receive these young Brethren and Sisters, into closer christian fellowship, as fellow guests at the table of the Lord, and seek to promote your own and their salvation. And as this is not a matter of human power and skill, it may well become us to call upon God for the assistance of His Holy Spirit, that He may graciously finish the work which He has begun in our souls.

(The service is then closed with prayer. Of this we are unable to give a translation, as a greater part of it also is missing.)

Concluding Remarks.

Before taking leave of this good old Liturgy, we may indulge in giving expression to a few thoughts naturally and forcibly suggested by the extracts which have now been presented.

1. And first of all a book like this must possess unusual interest, if regarded merely in an historical point of view, as *furnishing a specimen and type of the moral and religious character of the Church producing it, and of its full ability to meet*

the demands of religious life and worship. An abstract theological system, or church organization, however beautifully inscribed and laid out on paper, is not worth much, if upon practical application it is found inadequate to the daily wants of religious culture. It may be greatly admired as a masterpiece of ecclesiastical clock-work, when contemplated in a quiescent state. But the regret and ridicule into which this admiration will be resolved, will thus be only the more bitter and biting, when, upon trial, it is discovered that the mainspring is wanting, and indeed that the mechanism is such as will admit of none. Now the ecclesiastical and dogmatical histories of those times tell us most accurately what was the theory of the Reformers in reference to church doctrine and polity, and how this theory proved itself to be something more than a mere dead abstraction by its more general and manifest operations. But this does not altogether satisfy the curiosity of the inquiring mind. Before a system of religion can be entitled to the christian name, it must show its adaptation not merely to general but individual wants, it must prove itself adequate not merely to the task of managing the ark, but of providing for those within it. The christian religion is general and individual, universal and also most minutely particular in its spiritual arrangements and provisions. And the best proof of genuineness which any professedly christian system can give, is honest resemblance to this characteristic feature of Christianity.

Such now is the proof in favor of the Reformed system of the christian religion, presented by the Old Liturgy before us. It furnishes us with a fair, and, to every member of the Reformed Church, a most flattering specimen of the complete adaptedness of that system, to all the purposes of congregational and individual worship, and personal piety. And we may assuredly be indulged for exhibiting no little gratification, in being permitted to claim blood-affinity with this excellent and thoroughly evangelical system, and cherishing most hearty predilection for it. Surely the German Reformed Church of 1850, has no reason to be ashamed of springing from such stock as this! Nor have we any reason for yielding place, excepting through gratuitous politeness—to any other system, springing forth contempor-

aneously with this, from the evangelical agitations of the XVI century!

Through this Liturgy we may look, as through an open window, in upon the practical religious life of our Church in the first years subsequent to the deliverance of long-imprisoned Christianity. We may here see our earlier fathers and brethren in the Lord at their devotions. Other books have told us how vigorously they could contend for the truth on the stage of theological debate—how valiantly they could even fight for it on the battle-field. In other books we learn how clearly they could define their religion as a system of doctrine, and how firmly they could base it on the true foundation. Here we can learn how piously, intelligently, and heartily *their Religion taught them to pray,—how simply, yet scripturally and instructively it enabled them to administer the holy sacraments, and perform the other consolatory services of the Church.* And certainly none can stop to look in at this window, and listen to these holy devotions, without “taking knowledge of these men that they have been with Jesus and learned of Him,” or saying in their heart “surely God is in this place!”

2. In immediate connection with this, the great contrast exhibited between this system of worship, and that of the nominally christian church which had just been forsaken, cannot fail to excite attention. We here see that the conflict and separation was not merely one of abstract theology, carried on by members of the schools, but one of practical worship, in which individual christian devotion was most intimately concerned. And thus viewed *how utter and decided is the separation, from every thing that savors of popish superstition:* We see nothing like an attempt at compromise. The flood of light which broke in through the thick darkness that so long had veiled truth and worship, revealed on the one hand abominations which had usurped the place of righteousness and piety, which our Reformed fathers gladly denounced and renounced, and on the other hand a pure & heavenly system which they most heartily and unqualifiedly preferred. There was no lingering to look back—no desire to gather up and carry a few sacred relics with them. Of such relics

as could be had, full enough would cling to head, and heart, and hand, without special effort to gather and preserve them! And so while the door of escape stood open, they would be off—even though for the time but thinly clad. None could tell how suddenly the door might be shut again! So walking by faith, like Moses, they preferred such simple comforts as God might furnish for the spiritual wants of His believing children, to all the gorgeous trappings, and glittering tinsel connected with the splendid idolatries of an Egyptianized Christianity! And who can refuse to admire the rich and all-sufficient simplicity of the forms of worship here prescribed! Free, to a degree which excites surprise, from all controversial hints, and yet impressing the reader, on every page with the conviction, that, holding the gross superstitions and heresies of Rome in utter abhorrence, every thing popish was most studiously excluded, as unscriptural and pernicious.

And can the spirit thus evinced, and the course thus pursued ever be too heartily approved or too strongly commended? What is it else than cheerful compliance with the terms of true discipleship as fixed by our Lord Himself—"If any man will come after me let him deny himself and take up his cross;" "He that putteth his hand to the plow and looketh back is not fit for the kingdom?" What other spirit would we have our Reformed fathers exhibit, or what other course would we have them pursue in the circumstances? Were they not right in breaking truce with Rome, when they discovered that Rome had broken faith with God? Shall they not be justified for flinging the vile superstitions of Popery from them, and that without dalliance, so soon as they detected the sacriligious fraud imposed upon the heritage of the Lord? Which of the Apostles renounced most readily and unreservedly all previous attachments, and predilections for the sake of Christ? Was it not he who was overtaken on his errand of bloody persecution to Damascus, and smitten by the brightness of the Lord down to the earth? And whose spirit, and zeal, and labors, and doctrine, does the true Church admire and commend more heartily than self-denying noble Paul's? No fault is found with him for parting with the

time-honored rites of the Jewish ceremonial without a sigh. It is thought no reproach that he could turn from Moses and Elias, when a greater than both appeared. And shall we find fault with our Reformed progenitors, for turning from the Pope and his idolatrous mass and demon worship without hesitation or regret?

Nor will we! A puerile sentimentalism many write its rhymes in praise of those, whose deep rooted predilections for hoary superstitions, so controlled them, that they could not give them up otherwise than Rachel did her teraphim! But reason and sound judgment, enlightened by the truth, and controlled by a supreme regard for God, and His true worship, will ever be found applauding those who hold Christ's enemies for their enemies, and ask not for time to bid them so much as farewell, when once they have been detected.

And this, as a distinctive peculiarity of the Reformed side of the great evangelical movement of the 16th century, is set forth with special clearness and decision in the Liturgy before us. And the German Reformed Church especially may congratulate itself in view of this most significant and interesting fact. Though possessed of natural feelings which qualify it for understanding full well the hesitations and compromises to which the other sides of the Reformation inclined, an enlightened judgment, and convictions founded on the letter of the Holy Gospels, and on the Spirit of the true Christian Church, will ever give an unequivocal verdict in favor of the example originally set by the noble Zwingli and his pious Zurichers, and afterwards so zealously pursued in the Palatinate under the learned and devout Frederick.

3. And this view of the case will secure more cheerful assent in consideration of another fact, strikingly exhibited in the book before us. Reference is of course had to the spirit of subordination and moderation which reigns throughout. Its influence makes itself felt on every page. Knowing the circumstances under which the Church, of which we have here a liturgical picture, was organized, it is natural to expect some evidences of spiritual licentiousness. But we look in vain for radicalism here.

Having but just cast away the chafing chains of religious tyranny, we wonder at their tolerating any control. But how comparatively easy and quiet the transition, from the iron collar of Popery to the yoke of Christ! From the cross-dishonoring idolatry of the Mass, to the instructive, melting service of the Holy Supper!

Here indeed is such evidence of the law by which the pious Reformers of those days were governed, as all may delight in contemplating! No wonder that such giants in moral courage, when courage was required, and yet such children in all teachableness of disposition, when the Truth offered its holy instructions, were thought fit instruments for the vast objects to be achieved! No age ever produced mightier or meeker men! And this, more than any thing, proves it to have been an age in which the Lord Himself was powerfully present with His wronged and degraded Church, to vindicate its honor.

May the Reformed Church seek to have this spirit more abundantly revived in her present life. She needs it. As her peculiar calling in the Kingdom of the Lord is indicated by it, so this calling also demands the diligent cultivation of this apostolic spirit. As therefore she would be true to herself and her Rock, let her listen to no terms of compromise with bald and baseless superstitions, no matter how innocent their face. And as she would be equally true to herself and Christ's Church, let her consent to no dalliance with the rabid radicalism, by which Satan is even now seeking first to disband the Church, then to subvert all civil rule, and finally destroy the world!

Long may this Old Palatinate Liturgy of 1563, remain with us, as a spiritual amulet against disasters like these!

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THE UNITY OF THE HUMAN RACE.

THE continued inquiries being made in the sphere of natural science, tend more and more, to a confirmation, and substantiation of the truths of revealed religion. The infidel once triumphing in pedantic style over the supposed inconcinnity between the discoveries of science and the truth of revelation, has been brow-beaten and compelled to retreat before the overpowering array of later investigations. Not only is there found to be no discordance, between the deductions of science and the facts of religion, but the most harmonious agreement. The varied departments of philosophy, which were once marshalled in stern array against the revelations of the Bible, are now waving their forced opposition, and joining hands with them in mutual fellowship. That this would ultimately be the case might have been, and was inferred a priori. Theoretically there is no ground for the hypothesis of a contradiction between science and religion. As Nature and Religion are both voluntary emanations of the Divine mind there must be consentaneousness in order to avoid disagreement in God himself. It is reasonable that Nature and Religion springing from the same inexhaustible fountain should flow together like the streams of the Rhine and Saone, in the same channel, though with distinguishable waters. Though our faith in the Divine origin of Christianity going before all natural testimony, could not be overthrown by such a dissonance, yet is it not comforting and strengthening, to have it backed by the evidence drawn from the natural world? The lines and tendencies of scientific research are drawing closer to Divine revelation, and arraying themselves around it in geometrical order. There is a convergence between the results of the discovering philosopher, and the established facts of revelation, so as to give us on a large and grand scale, the picture as described by Homer on his hero's shield; of things and movements heavenly, that appertain unto a higher sphere, hemmed round and embellished by the representations of earthlier and homelier pursuits.

We purpose in this essay to present in miniature form, some of the results in the sphere of *Philological* and *Physiognomical Ethnography*, which tend to establish the record of Moses that all nations of the earth have sprung from one common stock. This question, whether the diversified nations of the earth have sprung from one and the same origin? is not extraneous to the study of relationship between Nature and Revelation. It is interwoven with the whole tissue of the Christian Religion. On

the necessity for a common progenitor rests the doctrine of original sin, and its transmission to succeeding generations; and the central doctrine of Divine Redemption through a one-man Deliverer, uniting and unifying in his person all the qualities and properties of the whole human race. A denial of the unity of the whole human race is virtually an abnegation of these fundamental doctrines of the Christian Religion. If mankind have proceeded from different roots, what becomes of the theory of an organic diffusion of sin; and the extension and expansion of the blessings of Christianity from one great fountain? Reject the supposition of common origin, and you blot out from the inspired record the doctrine of a common sinning and fall in Adam, and the glorious mystery of redemption.

The theories accounting for the marked diversity of races, are as numerous and variable as the different shades of color and habit found in the race itself. They have sprung up and move in close array like the moving pillars of the desert, and like them too many are sand, and fall because of their incompactness and instability. "The Mosaic record" says a learned writer, "does not make it quite clear that the inhabitants of the world descended from Adam and Eve. Moreover the entire or even partial inspiration of the various writings comprehended in the Old Testament, has been, and is, doubted by many persons, including learned divines, and distinguished oriental and biblical scholars. . . . To the grounds of doubt respecting inspiration, which arise from the examination of various narratives, from knowledge of the original and other oriental languages, and from the irreconcilable opposition between the passions and sentiments ascribed to the Deity by Moses, and that religion of peace and love unfolded by the Évangélists, I have only to add, that the representations of all the animals being brought before Adam in the first instance, and, subsequently, of their being all collected in the ark, if we are to understand them as being applied to the living inhabitants of the whole world, are zoologically impossible." The Mosaic expressions "God created man male and female" and again (chap. v.) "in the day that God created man, male and female created he them," are supposed by the above quoted author to refer to a different creation from that of Eve. Even the celebrated Eichhorn, one of the boldest and rashest interpreters which modern Germany has produced is found vindicating the above quotations from the charge here preferred against them.

He however in the end arrived at the same conclusion by a rejection of the Divine inspiration on philological grounds. This exponent of the inspired record was the first who pretended to

have established, what had previously been conjectured; that the Pentateuch was only a combination of historical mythical legends, incorporated by Moses in the Divine record. This inference was unwarrantably deduced from the use of peculiar words. As for instance the word Jehovah is omitted in the first chapter; and is inserted in connection with Elohim in the commencement of the second chapter. In a general description of the cosmogony the self-existent appellation of the Creator alone is used. Elohim is the generic name of God; whilst Jehovah is the name of Israel's God; and is used in a geogonic description, wherein is given a particular account of the earth in its relation to man. The same definite distinction of these terms is found in the record made of the flood. Among the opponents of the theory maintaining a unity of the human race are found the names of Voltaire, Virey and Lamarck. Voltaire in truth was one of the first to observe that "none but a blind man can doubt that the whites, negroes, albinos, Hottentots, Laplanders, Chinese and Americans are entirely distinct races." Virey belonging to the same school, in light and wanton frivolity carried out the theory still farther. Not content with attributing to the Negro a different origin from the European, he goes so far as to suspect a certain fraternity between the Negro and Baboon.

Lamarck collected and arranged in systematic form what had been vaguely and disconnectedly presented by others, and developed the theory to its ultimate point. From the lowest order of created matter up to the immortal spirit, he discerned successive links uniting them in one inseparable whole. The two volumes of his *Philosophie Zoologique* are entirely directed to support this degrading theory; the first to prove how man's bodily organization sprung from a casual, though natural modification, of the ape; the second to show that the spiritual prerogatives of the human mind, are but the extension of the faculties possessed by brutes, and only differ quantitatively, and not qualitatively, from their perceptive powers. This theory was drawn analogically from the regular gradations found to exist, in each distinct kingdom. As in Nature there is a regular ascent in the scale of organized beings, so in the animal realm there must be the same regular gradation. Each animal having new wants, and being driven by them to peculiar habits, gradually changes its organization, until in succeeding generations the distinction becomes inerassibly fixed. Thus for instance a bird, is driven by its wants to take to the water, and either swim or wade; its successors do the same; in the course of many generations, the out-

stretching of its claws produces a web between them, and it becomes a regular water-fowl; or it extends its limbs to walk in deeper places, and gradually its legs are prolonged to the length of the crane's or the flamingo's. These two agencies, combined new wants, and the disposition of Nature to meet them, conspired to make man out of the baboon. One of these probably the Angola Orang, from some untold reason lost the habit of climbing trees, or holding by their hind as well as fore-limbs. After thus perambulating the earth for many generations, the former changed into a shape more suited to their habits, and became feet, and they gradually acquired the habit of walking erect. They now no longer needed their jaws for cropping fruit or for fighting with one another, having their fore feet or hands now disposable for these purposes; and hence by degrees, their snouts shortened, and their faces became more vertical. Progressing still farther in this road to humanization, their grin subsided into a courtly smile, and their jabbering resolved itself into articulate sounds.

This low materialistic theory is abundantly confuted by the experience and observation of several thousand years. The busy ant constructs its labyrinths now in the same manner in which it did in the days of Solomon. The beaver builds its dam now as it did in the days when Pliny lived and wrote. Neither, by any process whatever, have they been able to advance beyond their appointed sphere. Man too has lived with inherent powers, struggling in his nature, and yet they have not externalized themselves in some new and higher development. If the theory were well grounded, we might expect constant and higher processions beyond man. From him would shoot forth new sprouts of living action, to be metamorphosed, inversely from the ancient fable, into some higher nature.

There have been others who supposed that the diverse races originated immediately after the Deluge; the different germs being laid in persons, who escaped the overwhelming waters by clambering on the tops of the loftiest mountains. The absurdity of this hypothesis needs no refutation.

Having thus taken a summary historical survey of the opponents of our theory, we proceed to state in brief the systems for the classification of the races, and will then endeavor by some facts and arguments to show how it was possible for the contrarieties existing in the Human Race at present to have been brought about. Having done this there will be no difficulty in the supposition that all men have emanated from one generic fountain. This possible solution will create a strong presump-

tive argument, in favor of the Mosaic Record. The human race will be referred to one common channel, which being influenced by terrestrial and local influences, branched off into subordinate streams, thus causing the great diversity which is known to exist at the present time. The present results of ethnographic research enable us to settle conclusively the question: *Could* such varieties as we now see in the human race have sprung from one stock? This demonstrated, we will have removed the grounds on which the deniers of Revelation make so bold a stand. No doubt the farther investigations being made in this interesting department of science, will settle this whole question with absolute certainty. Then shall we see these two compassing branches of human life brought together like concentric circles, to rest on one common central point.

Aristotle appears to have recorded the classification prevalent in his time and in still earlier times, when he informs us that the older physiognomists decided of a person's character by the resemblance of his features to "those of nations who differ in appearance, and manners, as the Egyptians, Thracians and Scythians." By the first he no doubt means the negro race; for besides the impossibility of his omitting this in speaking of the varieties in the human species, in another place he evidently confounds the two; saying that persons who are very dark are also timid, being referred to the Egyptian and Ethiopian race." The very interesting and complicated question whether the ancient Egyptian was formed on the type of the negro? here presents itself. Aristotle maintains the affirmative of the question, as we have seen. His theory of such an identity has been contested by the celebrated Blumenbach, whose name at once reminds us of a chief-magistrate in the united kingdom of Natural science. He contends that all the remains of the Egyptians oppose the statements of the classics, who seem to coincide with Aristotle. The painted representations on monuments according to this great naturalist always represent the Egyptians painted of a red or tawny color, with long streaming hair; while we often see the negroes represented beside them, with a jet black color, frizzled hair, and perfect Negro features, precisely as they really are at the present day. This theory is still farther sustained by the mummies themselves excavated after the lapse of many centuries. The skulls of these, as Mr. Laurence observes, invariably have the European, without a trace of the Negro feature.

The solution to these contradictory statements, may best be made by the supposition that the Grecians saw the inhabitants

of Central Africa in Egypt who had flocked there to serve as tributaries in the army, and thus were led to confound them with the indigenous population. The next upon the list are the Scythians, who compose the Germanic tribes, which were found scattered over the whole of Scythia. Besides the representations of them on monuments, the descriptions of them by Ovid in his exile present all the traits of the ancient Germans. Thus their hair is described as yellow or light colored, and as always unshorn. The third race of men enumerated by Aristotle in his classification consists of the Thracians. This corresponds to the olive or Mongul, the only one wherewith he must have been acquainted that finds no place in his enumeration. Aristotle being guided chiefly by color in his classification, and having given us the extremes, must intend to represent by this an intermediate, differing somewhat however from the Grecian complexion. Again: Homer has described the Thracians as ἀκρόχομοι, or as having their hair only on the crown of the head. This seems opposed to the description given us of the Grecian or Germanic fashion, which rather cherished an abundant growth of hair, but is a very striking characteristic of Kalmuck costume, wherein as in that of many other Mongul nations, the head is shaved and only a tuft or tress of hair is left on the crown.

Other reflections such as the prevalence of *Shamanism* in the religion of Thessaly, and the origin of *Equestrianism*, attributed in fable to the same century, indicate a relationship with the race now occupying northern and central Asia.

For many ages this classification as proposed by Aristotle continued current, until the multiplication of intermediate shades of complexion made the system too complicated, and too clumsy for use. According to that theory the human race might be considered to be divided like the earth it inhabited, into three grand geographical divisions or zones; the very white occupying the colder regions; the black inhabiting the torrid—and the more fair the temperate region.

The first who proposed a new method for this important study was Governor Pownall. Though he adopted color as the basis of his classification, he yet suggested the propriety of attending to the conformation of the cranium in the various families of mankind. Camper however was the first, to lay down a canon for the determination of the configuration of heads. He united in his preparation for his work a perfect, practical knowledge of art, and an acquaintance with physiology and comparative anatomy. The skull is viewed by him in profile, and first a line is drawn from the entrance of the ear (the *meatus auditorius*) to

the basis of the nostrils ; then a second from the most prominent point of the forehead to the extreme border of the upper jaw, where the teeth are rooted (the alveolar process of the superior maxillary bone). The angle formed by the intersection of these two lines gives what is called the facial angle, and forms in Camper's system the specific characteristic of each human family.

To this system of measurement serious objections have been made by Blumenbach. He observes that there is a great vagueness in fixing the origin of lines as marked out by Camper ; but principally he objects that it is a measurement totally inapplicable to those races or families whose most marked distinctive, consists in the latitude of the skull rather than in the frontal projection.

It is to Blumenbach, a master mind in the department of Physiology, that we owe the system of classification, now almost universally followed. His museum contains the most complete and satisfactory collection of skulls in existence—and his works are a well filled store-house from which all must draw who wish to make progress in this study. Blumenbach has here achieved by extensive investigation and assiduous study, what Audubon has accomplished for Ornithology, or Baron von Humboldt for the entire field of Natural Science.

Blumenbach's classification is determined primarily by the contour of the cranium, and secondarily by the color of the hair, skin and iris. In his canon for the determination of the specific differences in the human race, particular attention is paid in the first place to the natural configuration of the skull ; and in the second place to the manner in which the *molar* or cheek-bones are connected with the *temporal* or bones at the ear, by means of an arch called the *zygoma* so formed as to allow strong muscles to pass under it, and be fixed to the lower jaw. In the construction of his rule, Blumenbach views the head in its natural position from above and behind ; and the relative proportions of the parts thus visible gives what he calls the vertical rule or *norma verticalis*. Trying the whole human race by this canon, he divides it into three principal families, with two intermediate ones. The three leading divisions he calls the Caucasian or central, secondly the Ethiopian, and thirdly the Mongul, or two extreme variations. In the Caucasian or as others have called it the Circassian, the skull is more symmetrical and the zygomatic arches enter into the general outline. In the Negro's skull you see the remarkable lateral compression of the forepart of the skull, by which the arches though themselves much flattened, yet come to protrude much beyond it. The

Mongul cranium is distinguished by the extraordinary breadth of its front, in which the zygomatic curvature is completely detached from the general circumference. Between the Caucasian variety and each of the extremes is an intermediate class, possessing in part the distinctives of the extremes, and forming a transition from the centre to them. That between the Caucasian and Negro families is the Malay; the link between the former and the Mongul is the American variety.

With this imperfect sketch of the different systems of classification we proceed straight-forward to the great problem to be solved, how could such varieties as we have seen, have taken their rise in the human species? Was it by some sporadic convulsion like those spoken of in Geology, in which the human race was torn asunder into several great branches; minor ones splintering off to account for exceptional and more isolated families, like the Coptic; or are we to suppose a gradual *degradation* as naturalists call it, whereby some nations or families passed gradually through successive shades, from one extreme to the other. Perhaps the present state of the science of Ethnography will not give us sufficient data to determine the *modus* in which these varieties, so clearly delineated, were originally formed. But waiving this question for the present, there exists no reasonable doubt as to the common origin of every race.

We shall endeavor to show both from analogy and direct examples; first that there is a tendency, even a struggling effort in Nature to raise up specific varieties in the human race; and secondly that these peculiarities may be propagated from father to son, and in succeeding generations may establish a distinctly marked family.

In the argument from analogy, if we take the vegetable kingdom, we find that each species takes its rise from some common centre whence it has gradually been propagated. This observation has led to a definite geographical division and distribution of plants. Twenty botanical provinces have been definitely laid out as inhabited by aboriginal or indigenous plants. This tendency of Nature to simplicity and unity in the origin of all things accounts for the fact, that when America was discovered not a single plant was found here, which was known in the old world, except such as could have had their seeds transmitted through the waters of the ocean.

We have here in the vegetable world an original unity, and a tendency to diversity under modifying influences.

The analogy between animals and man is still more applicable to the point in hand. The similarity between the physical

organization of both classes of animated being, and the identity of the laws by which the individuals and their races are preserved, furnish a strong argument from the actual contrarieties and differences of the one, to the possible modifications of the other.

Now it is evident that animals acknowledged to belong to one species, under modifying influences, change into varieties as wide apart and distinct as those in the human race. For instance, in regard to the contour of the cranium; the skulls of the mastiff and Italian greyhound are as different as those of the Negro and European. The skull of the wild boar too says Blumenbach differs widely from the tame swine's, its undisputed descendant.

Difference in color and texture of hair is also remarkable, and well worthy of observation. The ox of the Roman *compagna* is invariably grey, while in some other parts of Italy the breed is mostly red; swine and sheep are here also chiefly black, while in England white is their prevailing hue.

And also in the general form and structure of animals we find the greatest variations. This is very obvious in the ox, because of its great subjection to the influences of art, and domestication. What a contrast between the bulky, hardy long-horned animal which traverses the Roman streets, and the small-headed light-limbed breed, prized so highly by English farmers.

Dr. Prichard gives one very remarkable instance, that of a breed of sheep, reared within a very few years in England, and known by the name of the *ancon* or otter breed. It sprung up from a deformity in one animal, which communicated its peculiarities so completely to its progeny, that the breed is fully established.

These facts well authenticated, and many others which might be produced, present a strong argument of analogy applicable to the human species. If such distinctive varieties are formed and perpetuated by sporadic or gradual influences, in the unconscious animal existence, are not the possibilities for similar changes greater in the human race, possessed of self-directing activities?

But the question still remains to be settled, are there any direct examples, like those referred to in the vegetable and animal worlds, to be found in the human? One or two instances must suffice. For example, red hair is considered almost exclusively confined to the Caucasian family; yet individuals exist in almost every known variety with this peculiarity. Charlevoix observed it amongst the Esquimaux; Sonnerat, among the Papuans; Wallis among the Tahitans; and Lopes among the Negroes. Also amongst us are to be found individuals with frizzled hair

and a tendency towards other characteristics of the Ethiopian family.

Examples of more striking varieties are found among men than what constitute the specific characteristics of any race; such as the remarkable *porcupine-man*, traced through three generations in the family of Lambert; the albinos; and the variety consisting in supernumerary fingers. But there are extant, also, examples of whole nations having been so changed, giving us exemplifications of the afore-made deductions on a large scale. The Tartars and Monguls, on historical, traditionary and philological grounds, are traceable to common origin; and yet it cannot be doubted, but that the extremes of the two nations, or families are as dissimilar as possible, and that the Tartars belong to the Caucasian race.

The race to which we belong presents a similar phenomenon. The language spoken from India to Iceland being essentially the same, proves the intermediate nations to be of common origin. The attempt has been made to account for this variation on the supposition, that the Indo-Germanic nations were saved from the deluge on two chains of mountains, the Himalaya and the Caucasus. From the former according to Klaproth, descended the Indians to the South and the Goths to the North; from the other came the Medes, Persians, and Pelasgians. This however is sheer conjecture, unsupported by historical proof or local tradition.

Now in view of the examples already adduced, taken from well authenticated facts, we can admit the possibility of a transition from one extreme color to the other, originally created by sporadic influences, and continued through the ordinary process of generation. We have not sufficient data to determine with unerring accuracy the original color of the human race. The prevailing opinion is that it was red, either because the name of the first man signifies in Hebrew that color, or, as Bishop Heber conjectures, because undomesticated animals tend towards it. Blumenbach supposes that the original color was white, inferable from the fact that every departure from this hue bears the mark of an excess, or a morbid affection. It has been clearly proved that the seat of the Negro's color is not in the skin which is as colorless in him as in us, but in the fine tissue situated under it, known in anatomy by the name of the tissue or net of Malpighi. The infant Negro is of a white hue immediately after birth, but is soon changed into its fixed type by the operation of some inherent law; which proves that the color is not original, but a subsequent abnormality. Some modifying spasmodic influence

with which we are uncognizant, must have originally formed this variation, which when once established has been perpetuated according to the laws of natural generation. The mystery, in which all subjects extending far back into dim antiquity are involved, preclude us from determining the causes which may have been in operation to produce the effects, which are so strikingly evident. Like the asymptotes of the hyperbola, the investigations of science are continually approximating to the given curve, but have not as yet come in contact with it. It may be contended here, as Hume maintained with reference to the question of miracles, that our experience testifying to the uniform operation of the laws of Nature, must preponderate over the probability of a suspension of, or variation from, those laws. But we must remember that the little segment of nature's cycle through which we have passed is an infinitesimal element, when referred to the world's great circle. Besides the laws which we know, other and far more active influences have been powerfully at work in the primordial stages of the world's vast process. There were times within the range of mythological history, when volcanoes raged in almost every chain of mountains; when seas filled to overflowing, leaped their boundaries and created new islands; when old lakes dried up, and new ones were formed; when besides the annual reproduction of plants and insects, Nature was engaged in producing the vaster and more massive elements of her sphere: when she toiled assiduously in her deep laboratories forming new and wonderful compositions; when besides the gradual continued operation of Nature's laws, other deep-moving agencies were busily at work. The relation between the general and individual forms of being and action seemed to call for such a two-fold action. Besides the natural and ordinary laws universally in operation during the period of infancy, the assimilating, digestive and absorbing functions causing the regularly progressive movement of the system, there is a plastic power at work traceable to no law of necessity, independent of the ordinary vital powers; which gives growth and solidity to the limbs; characteristic shape to the features, and development to the muscles. As the infantive state of existence is carried up to the full development of matured manhood, this indefinable power becomes inert, and withdraws its activity, until the decline and fall of old age, when it comes forward to undo its former work. The same thing is often observable during the prevalence of some epidemic, wherein the crisis in individual cases does not seem determined so much by the ordinary laws of the disease, as by the connection in which

the individual stands to the infected community. And so in like manner we have reason to believe, that in the infancy of the world's life, transient, sporadic influences were operative, of which we are at present unavoidably ignorant. When the world was slowly passing through a formative process, there existed greater room for the introduction of modifying influences than at present, when the laws and operations of Nature have become more fixed and regular. In man there may then have been some magnificent perturbing influence, like those grand convulsions spoken of by geologists. And is it not reasonable indeed to suppose, that those vast perturbations, taking place in the earth's material structure, should have their counterpart in man, standing by reason of his physical organization in such close proximity with Nature?

But we hasten on from the natural to the philological and moral argument in support of the unity of the human race.

Strong lexical and grammatical affinity of languages, cannot be the result of mere fortuitous circumstances, but proves some early relationship. Language consists in the external expression and arrangement of mental conceptions, according to certain syntactical rules. It is not made by the arbitrary adjustment of certain words, strung together like beads on a rosary. As the infant is born into social relations, so words (if we may be allowed the expression) *wake up* in the midst of grammatical connexions. A marked coincidence and similarity of different languages then, would seem to indicate an identity of mind and habit between those speaking them. The mind comes fully to a state of self-consciousness in the definite expression of its relation to the natural world, through its physical organization. This constituted the course of education through which Adam went, wherein the animals were made to pass before him in regular succession to see what he would call them; *and whatever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof.* A similarity then in the grammatical structure of the languages of different nations must prove an intimate relationship between them. Philological investigations have tended to confirm, and support the Mosaic record, that all nations of the earth were originally "of one lip and of one speech." The relationship between Sanskrit and Greek is so marked and clear, that it could not possibly have been brought about by mere accident. A remarkable connexion between Hungarian, and the languages of Northern Europe, the Finnish, Lapponian, and Esthonian, has been solidly demonstrated; and the inspection of some ethnographic map will show how it is placed, like what

geologists call outliers of peculiar strata, as a mass dismembered and detached from the group to which it belongs.

But we must pass on to the argument drawn from the conception of humanity abstractly viewed; and from man's concrete moral powers. Every generic term involves a twofold conception; a practical diversity and difference, and a concrete union and unity. Whilst humanity implies a diversity of operations; there is at last but one Spirit. In developing itself into concrete life, it branches off into diversified shoots and ramifications, having but one common root and trunk. The outward features of distinct species of animals, is not greater, and more marked than their inherent dispositions; whilst in the most dissimilar states of social life, we find an approximation of feeling, a coincidence of sentiment, and a contemporaneousness of the whole moral nature, which proves that the faculty in man, corresponding to that of instinct in animals, is identical through the whole race. The term race itself is inapplicable to animals, and used in connexion with man, indicates the existence of a common centrality. The ferocity of the wolf and the cunningness of the fox; the gregarious and tumultuary aggression of the one, and the solitary pilfering of the other, reminds us of an absolute distinction in the animals themselves. But in man no such wide chasms are found. Though his nature in specific cases may have been vastly modified by different circumstances, yet one bond seems to unite all in indissoluble unity. Whether for ages he has dozed away his days in listlessness like the Asiatic in his Divan, or like the Red man has chased the nimble deer over his favored hunting-grounds, there is nothing in his organization to show that through education, and custom he might not have changed the one occupation for the other.

We cannot properly estimate the effect which sin has had, not only on our moral nature abstractly considered, but also through it on our mental and physical constitution. Man's normal state was in the image and after the likeness of God; reminding us of a correspondence between the faculties of man and God, and a harmonious co-operation of them with the Divine will. When through sin, man aberrated from his appointed orbit, there was no limit to the operation of that centrifugal force, save such as was revealed by the centripetal action of a promised Redeemer. "When man" says the learned Frederick Schlegel "had once fallen from virtue, no determinable limit could be assigned to his degradation, nor how far he might descend by degrees, and approximate even to the level of the brute;

for as from his origin he was a being essentially free, he was in consequence capable of change, and even in his organic powers most flexible. We must adopt this principle as the only clue to guide us in our inquiries from the Negro, who as well from his bodily strength and agility, as from his docile, and in general, excellent character, is far from occupying the lowest grade in the scale of humanity, down to the monstrous Patagonian, the almost imbecile Peshwerai, and the horrible cannibal of New Zealand, whose very portrait excites a shudder in the beholder. So far from seeking with Rousseau and his disciples for the true origin of mankind, and the proper foundations of the social compact, in the condition even of the best and noblest savages, we regard it on the contrary, as a state of degeneracy and degradation." But the resuscitation and recreation of these ruined natures is brought to pass through the incarnate God, combining in his nature all the capacities and sensibilities of Humanity. In him is centered the fulness and perfection of human nature. What was lost in Adam is restored to man in Christ. But the organic union of the theanthropic Saviour with humanity, for its redemption and salvation, supposes homogeneity in its constituent elements. The possibility of making provision for the redemption of all mankind in one God-man, rested on the fact that all specific characteristics grew from one common origin. On the supposition that there is no organic connection between the fallen angels, their redemption could not have taken place through a single incarnation; so neither could there have been an organic salvation for man, unless all men have originated from one common source. Such a necessary circumscription of the atonement would have released all beyond its influence, from the solemn obligations thereby imposed.

Thus all the reasonings drawn from the idea of Humanity, and the central person in whom that conception has been fully realized; as well as many well established facts gathered from the natural history of man, lend a strong table of testimony to the Mosaic record.

Having been brought by our thread of argumentation to the Person of the Saviour of the world, we will here, make in conclusion one general observation, applicable also to the point in hand.—The manner in which the Evangelists draw the natural portrait of the Saviour, stamps upon the Gospel history a strong internal proof of a superior authority. They do not construct Christ after the model of a great Jewish Teacher like Hillel or Gamaliel, personifications of concrete ideas among the Jews. The moral characteristics and whole expression in these differ-

ent representations are far apart from each other. The thoughts, principles, feelings and springs of moral action, as depicted in the person and character of Christ have nothing in common with those of Rabbi Samuel. No person with a single eye would take them to be pictures of the same countenance and person. This then is the impregnable inference. If two painters of different temperament and habit should embody their ideas of excellence and beauty in precisely the same forms, would we not infer that the one had copied from and imitated the other? Seeing then the perfect coincidence between the representations of the Evangelists, the only fair conclusion is that they all had in view more than a great Jew; and that they referred to the same living original person Jesus Christ. Thus have the inspired writers stamped on their record the seal of a supernatural origin, and challenge our firm faith in it. The inspired word is supported by the revelations of Science at every point in which they come in contact; and all the modern scientific researches instead of creating any distrust in the Bible, confirm and strengthen our faith therein. The still progressing disclosures of the mysterious operations of the intricate laws of the natural world, will present to us the word of God in harmony with all his fearful and wonderful works; and the depths which now serve to conceal Nature's darkest mysteries, like the cavern temples of India and Idumea, will be changed into the fittest places for adoration. Man will soon penetrate into the inmost sanctuary of Nature, and there find the living law to be honored and obeyed.

Trenton, N. J.

F. D. S.

THE VERNAL ODES OF HORACE.

How heartily doth the old Venusian bard enter into his descriptions of the Spring! The gentle movings of that season he seemeth to feel in his inmost soul. He resembleth not some of our modern city poetasters who, having never caught inspiration from the fields and woods themselves, draw their descriptions merely from gardens or what they have read of in books. Such *Bavii* and *Mævii* he, no doubt, as utterly detested in his day as we do them in ours. He resembleth not much even some of our best modern descriptive poets, who delineate the features of nature as faithfully as a landscape painter, it is true, but in the same objective manner. Hanging on the outward beauties of these with their eyes, their imaginations become warmly impressed, and they are thus enabled to give charming descriptions of them in their poems. But after all, these are only pictures. Beautiful things to be looked upon, to be sure, but still the poet is not visibly present. He uttereth not in them his emotions. Horace was no bad hand at plain sketching of this sort himself; as any one knoweth who hath read his *Epistles*, as, for instance, the Sixteenth of the First Book, but he seemeth to have considered it no very great accomplishment in itself. Of his country villa he there giveth us a fine description, it is true, but it serveth only as a frontispiece or introduction to some more important moral lessons. In the ode he goeth further. He entereth there into full sympathy with reviving nature in the Spring and sendeth forth his voice as naturally and as feelingly as a bird its warblings. In this species of song he excelleth. How few lyrics have we now-a-days called forth by the genial influences of the season! In such odes he entereth not far into the mere description of the landscape. The scene is too joyous to be described. Amid the glad burstings forth of the leaves and blossoms and the songs of the birds, by his vivid imagination, all the loves and beauties and graces are seen in their living human forms coming forward in dancing activity, personified according to the mythology of his country. He cannot keep quiet. In lyric strains he inviteth his friends to come abroad with him into the country and perform their appropriate parts in the grand oratorio of the season; to wreath around their unguented heads the festive chaplets, and to sacrifice to *Faunus*, the old Italian frolic god of rural nature. Of course it becometh not our modern poets to revive the mythology of ancient Greece and Rome. We live under the cheering influences of a holier religion. Still

methinketh it would be wise to follow their example in one respect. We ought to unite with nature more heartily than we do in her orisons and vespers. We confine our praises too entirely to temples and houses made with hands. The woods and meadows now-a-days we leave to laud their great Reviver alone. Our climate, to be sure, is more inclement than was that of the Romans. Spring doth not burst upon us so soon nor so suddenly as it hath ever done on the more favored people of Italy. Their scenery too is perhaps more picturesque and beautiful. Still we fancy that in the Spring, enough of life and beauty is to be seen around us to awaken more warmly than it doth our feelings of devotion and gratitude. The vernal festive day of the Romans in honor of Faunus was celebrated on the thirteenth of February. With us we have no holiday of the sort until the first of May, when the young villagers in some sections of our country go abroad and perform their gambols around their may-pole, and choose their queen, and crown her with flowers; a charming old observance which hath come down to us from simpler times, and the day, I trust, will never be suffered to pass without its appropriate rites, as it is now the only one in the calendar set apart for holding sympathetic communion with reviving nature; though I must confess that I have never yet been able to discover very much religion beneath its observances.

HORACE. BOOK I, ODE IV.

Solvitur acris hiems grata vice veris et Favoni,
 Trahuntque siccas machinae carinas.
 Ac neque jam stabulis gaudet pecus, aut arator igni;
 Nec prata canis albicant pruinis,
 Jam Cytherea choros ducit Venus, imminente Luna:
 Junctaeque Nymphis Gratiae decentes
 Alternò terram quatunt pede; dum graves cyclopus
 Vulcanus ardens urit officinas.
 Nunc decet aut viridi nitidum caput impedire myrto,
 Aut flore, terrae quem ferunt solutae.
 Nunc et in umbrosis Fauno decet immolare lucis,
 Seu poscat aena, sive malit haedo.
 Pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
 Regumque turres. O beate Sexti,
 Vitae summa brevis spem nos vetat inchoare longam.
 Jam te premet nox, fabulaeque Manes,
 Et domus exilis Plutonia: quo simul mearis,
 Nec regna vini sortiere talis,
 Nec tenerum Lycidan mirabere, quo calet juvenus
 Nunc omnis et mox virgines tepebunt.

Solved is winter severe by the changing of spring and bland Favonus.
 And by machines the dry-keeled ships are drawn down ;
 While in the fold now joys not the flock nor the ploughman at the
 Nor meadows longer are bedight with hoar frost. [fireside,
 Now Cytherea her dances is leading up 'neath the hanging full moon;
 And joined with Nymphs the Graces all becoming [cyclops
 Trill on the earth their lightest alternate steps ; whilst of heavy
 The glowing Vulcan kindleth up the forges. [myrtle
 Now 'tis comely to wreath round the glossy head either sprigs of
 Or flowers which all the loosened lands are bearing.
 Now in the fresh-leaved grove 'tis comely to sacrifice to Faunus,
 If lamb he ask, or kid he would have rather. [tago
 Pale Death beateth with foot impartially 'gainst the poor man's cot-
 And king's proud tower. O my happy Sext'us,
 Life's sum soon to be filled forbiddeth our casting forward long hopes.
 Soon night will press thee and the fabled Manes, [go'st,
 And the Plutonian, exiled dwelling-place ; whither when thou once
 Nor chief at wine shalt thou be made by dices
 Nor shalt thou gaze on thy beautiful Lycidas ; pleased with whom
 the youths are,
 And soon the virgins will be all enamoured.

Our bard, we confess, towards the conclusion of this ode waxeth somewhat pensive and sombre. He doth not enter into the full enjoyment of the present without any regard to the future. In his day he was not just "a butterfly born in a bow-er." He was not even one of those gay Grecians of old who boasted themselves to have been born the brothers of the cicadae or harvest flies. They sipped the dew of the present. They sang and danced and never thought of looking forward to the coming winter. Anacreon, for instance, in his ode on the Spring, and in fact in all his odes, chirpeth as merrily and as carelessly as a cricket. He revelleth in the "liquid noon" of the present. Into the dim vista of the future he never looketh further forward than he can see wine and women and roses. He observeth not approaching evils, until the ladies tell him that his hair is becoming white and thin ; and then, to kill care, he danceth and singeth and sippeth wine, until at length in his green old-age he is suddenly choked off by a grape-stone.

Φιλῶ γίγνεσθαι νεκρὸν,
 Φιλῶ νῖον χορεύον,
 Γίγνη δ' ὄντων χορεύω.
 Τριχὰς γίγνημι πρὸ λυγρῶ,
 Τὰς δὲ φρένας νεύζω.

I love an old man sprightly,
I love a youthful dancer,
But when an old man danceth,
In hair he is an old man,
In heart he is a youngster.

Our bard is of a graver mood. With all his cheerfulness he hath about him too much of the stern Roman dignity to be cutting up such fandangoes. He feareth not to look forward at evils coming before they oppress him. The sombre thoughts of these he loveth even to blend with his present enjoyments, and thus, as by adding acids to sweet beverages, he maketh them more palatable. He pointeth to the dark clouds of the future as to a sort of back-ground, to set off more vividly by contrast the joyous light of the present. Of course we do not approve of his religion and philosophy. These were, however, no doubt, in his day the best that the old heathen could lay his hands upon. At any rate, they suited very well his taste and disposition. In our more favored times, with the joys of immortality revealed, the future is lightened up too splendidly to serve any longer as a back-ground. The devout moralist now-a-days very properly describeth all earthly joys as being unsatisfying and evanescent in their nature, while only those of heaven are substantial. Still, we think we should not entirely overlook the Spring. Our emotions should rise in sympathy with the universal concert of nature on the occasion. It behooveth us to read her moral and religious lessons set forth in their freshest print. The day commemorative of our Saviour's resurrection, we think not without divine intention at first, falleth in this joyous season of the year when all nature is putting forth new life and beauty; and to us it really seemeth wrong that it should be suffered to pass away, as it now always is, without any appropriate observances. But, sweet bard of old, strike up thy lyre again and let us have another vernal ode.

HORACE, BOOK IV, ODE VII.

Diffugere nives; redeunt jam gramina campis,
Arboribusque comae:
Mutat terra vices: et decrescentia ripas
Flumina praetereunt:
Gratia cum Nymphis geminisque sororibus audet
Ducere nuda choros.
Immortalia ne speres monet Annus et alium
Quae rapit Hora diem.

Frigora mitescunt Zephyris: Ver proterit Aestas,
Interitura, simul

Pomifer Auctumnus fruges effuderit: et mox
Bruma recurrit iners.

Damna tamen celeres reparant caelestia lunae;
Nos, ubi decidimus,

Quo pius Aeneas, quo dives Tullus et Ancus,
Pulvis et umbra sumus.

Quis scit, an adjiciant hodiernae crastina summae
Tempora Di superi?

Cuncta manus avidas fugient haeredis, amico
Quae dederis animo.

Quum semel occideris. et de te splendida Minos
Fecerit arbitria:

Non, Torquate, genus, non te facundia, non te
Restituet pietas.

Infernis neque enim tenebris Diana pudicum
Liberat Hippolytum:

Nec Laethaea valet Theseus abrumperé caro
Vincula Pirithoo.

Fled all off have the the snows: coming back to the fields are the
And to the forests their leaves: [grasses,

Lands sweet change undergo: and streams late swollen subsiding
Peacefully flow by their banks: [adventure

Knit with the nymphs and her sisters twain now the Grace forth
Naked to lead up the dance.

Immortality not to expect, thee teacheth the Year and
Hours bearing off the bright day. [Summer;

Colds are quelled by the zephyrs; the Spring then is trampled by
She to depart also when

Bountiful Autumn his fruits shall have spread, and presently Winter
Sluggish is on us again.

Moons nathless passing rapid repair still their heavenly losses;
We, when we suddenly drop

Whither did pious Aeneas and whither rich Tullus and Ancus,
Ashes and shadows become.

Who know'th whether the gods supreme may add to this day's sum
Hours of tomorrow or not? [spendest

All shall escape thine heirs clutched hand which at present thou
On the delights of thyself.

When thou once hast departed and on thee, uttered by Minos,
Hath been the lucid decree,

Not, Torquatus, thy race, not thee thine eloquence, not thy
Piety back will restore.

For from the darkness beneath could Diana never recover

Virtuous Hippolytus :

Nor his bonds Lethæan to break was Theseus able

For his dear Pirithous.

Sweet moralist, thou certainly knewest best what was most besuiting to thy times and people ; but to my modern fancy, I must confess, thy prospective views appear often too dark and lowering. They seem almost to overshadow and overwhelm the joyous present. Thy moral lessons are good enough in their way, but, for the sake of variety, if it please thee, let us hear a strain a little more Anacreontic. Sextius and Torquatus were most worthy personages. It besuited thee to address them in verses serious and majestic. They were rich and noble and thou wast comfortably poor. I have no doubt but that thy moral warnings, at any rate on the latter eloquent and pious gentleman, had their proper influence. Thou didst induce him by thy strains, I feel persuaded, to draw forth the good old wine which, I fear, he kept before too close beneath his many keys, to sparkle in the joyous light, on the festive board, to the great consolation and delight of thyself his welcome guest, but to the no small chagrin and discomfit, I fancy, of his expectant heir. Still, we would fain have a strain from thee less moralizing and stately, more sprightly and jocose. Hadst thou not some friend and companion more intimate and close whom thou couldst therefore address in a style more familiar and mirthful? Methinketh somewhere hereabouts in this fourth book is a song somewhat in this humor. Let me turn over a few leaves. Yes, here it is! That exquisite ode which thou didst indite and send on a pleasant Spring morning to thy friend and fellow poet Virgilius Maro, to invite him to a picknick ; he to furnish the nard on the occasion and thou the wine.

HORACE, BOOK IV, ODE XII.

Jam veris comites, quæ mare temperant,

Impellunt animæ lintea Thraciæ :

Jam nec prata rigent, nec fluvii strepunt

Hiberna nive turgida

Nidum ponit, Ityn flebiliter gemens

Infelix avis, et Cæcropiæ domus

Aeternum opprobrium, quod male barbaras

Regum est ulta libidines.

Dicunt in tenero gramine pinguium

Custodes ovium carmina fistula,

Delectantque deum, cui pecus et nigri
Colles Arcadiae placent.

Adduxere sitim tempora, Virgili:
Sed pressum Calibus ducere Liberum
Si gestis, juvenum nobilium cliens,
Nardo vina mereberis.

Nardi parvus onyx eliciet cadum,
Qui nunc Sulpiciis accubuit horreis
Spes donare novas largus, amaraque
Curarum eluere efficax.

Ad quae si properas gaudia, cum tua
Velox merce veni: non ego te meis
Immunem meditor tinguere poculis,
Plena dives ut in domo.

Verum pone moras et studium lucri;
Nigrorumque memor, dum licet, ignium,
Misce stultitiam consiliis brevem:
Dulce est desipere in loco.

Now Spring's wandering sprites, which do the seas becalm,
Are out swelling the sails, breezes from Thracia:
Now nor meadows are stiff nor do the rivers roar
High swoln from the late winter's snow.

Her nest fashions the bird wretchedly sad that mourns
Itys and the reproach pressing eternally
Her Cecropian race, since they did vengeance take
Too deep on the rude lust of kings.

Reclined on the new grass, keepers of thriving sheep
Are discoursing their songs set to their rustic pipes,
And thus pleasing the god, whom do the flocks and dark
Hills Arcadian gratify.

Thirst this season brings on, O my Virgilius:
But if fain you would quaff wine that is generous,
Pressed at Cales, the best, client of noble youths,
For nard well shall you merit it.

Of nard one little vase out shall deduce a cask
Which now snugly is hid in the Sulpician cells,
New hopes rich to bestow also to wash away
Sharp cares most efficacious.

To these joys if inclined, come with yourself, in haste,
Your club bearing along; never a thought I have
That you free, from my cups I should be moistening,
Like some lord of a wealthy house.

But now doff your delays and the desire of gain;
And bethinking of pyres gloomy, while yet you may,
Blend some foolishness brief with your most wise designs:
Sweet 'tis loose to let, in its place.

Many thanks to thee, kind-hearted and social bard! At my present writing the season is still unconfirmed. The sap, I am persuaded by the genial zephyrs, is beginning to be stirred within the trees, but as yet no leaves hath it sent forth from the boughs, not even from those of the sprightly willows by the brooks, and in the meadows as yet the glossy black bird of the crimsoned shoulders hath not adventured to emit his mellowed notes; but by turning mine ear to thy strains, called forth by the season, and attempting to render them into corresponding English rhythms—alas! losing thereby how much of their beauty!—I have nevertheless succeeded in wooing around me the fancies of a fully present Spring. How amaranthine are the genuine flowers of poesie! Of a distant clime and remote age, long since departed bard, before the christian era, thy poems yet breathe a freshness and spirit of beauty, and come home to us with a warmth of feeling in closer harmony with surrounding nature than those of many a modern songster.

Mercersburg, Pa.

W. M. N.

PRACTICAL EXEGESIS.

[From an article by Neander in the *Deutsche Zeitschrift* of Berlin, for February, 1850.]

ERRORS which have long reigned over men's minds can be properly overcome, only when the truth which underlies them is known and acknowledged, and the want from which they spring is made to understand itself and so finds the way to its true and proper satisfaction. This holds in particular of errors that are connected with the sphere of religion. And not unfrequently may we see that false views have sprung from the unconscious mingling together of different regions of life or knowledge, both of which have their rights, while it is only by scientific consideration at the same time that they can be fairly distinguished and held apart. Such is the case with the interests of scientific and practical exegesis. Practical exegesis is something absolutely necessary for the progress of theology and church life, as it serves to mediate between the Divine word in the form of history and its relation to the present time, setting science in union with actual life and theory with practice; and we find accordingly something akin to it, or at least an effort towards it, proceeding out of the christian spirit from the beginning. But this still only in such a way that it had no proper sense of its own nature and design, no clear view of its own office, but was led rather to confound this with something else. Must we not acknowledge this to have been the case in what was called the allegorical mystical interpretation of the Bible, in the assumption of a manifold sense as lying at the bottom of its revelations? The two spheres, of what is to be styled strictly the exposition of the Scriptures and of what pertains to their practical application, fell here unconsciously into one another. The two objects, to explore the objective sense of the Divine word, and to bring this home through various applications to the present time, were not kept clearly distinct, but ran together with more or less confusion, making it impossible for either to be pursued with any right and full success. In order to this, it was necessary that there should be first a clear conscious separation of the different mental activities here in question.

When in the seventeenth century a onesided doctrinal interest, in the Lutheran church of Germany, had drawn all its own way, and the interest for exegetical study was thus completely thrust aside, an attempt was made to revive this last by pressing simply its practical importance. Over against the onesided scientific

tendency rose a onesided zeal for practice. Practical exegesis claimed to be everything. It was proposed to have the fruit, without the use of the intermediate labor required to procure it from the fruit bearing tree. We may apply to the case the beautiful words of Clement of Alexandria, where he speaks of those who expected the produce of the vine at once, without the pains which becomes the good husbandman going before. "The Lord is allegorically the vine, from which with care and skilful culture fruit is to be obtained; we must prune, dig, bind up the branches, and do all else that the case requires, in order that this may appear for our use."¹ Where science and art, such as the interpretation of an ancient author requires, had not been applied under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, it was not possible to reach the objective sense of the Divine word. For what holds in the case of any other ancient author, must hold of God's word in the sacred scriptures also after it has once submitted itself to the law of human language. And the objective sense of the word when thus found also could not be brought into right practical relation to the present, without the employment of all those aids of thought and reason which are needed for such a transfer from one form to the other. This is what we are to regard in Clement's sense as the work of the vine dresser, which is required in order that we may enjoy the fruit of the vine. Even when a distinction was made between scientific exegesis and practical, and the first was held in honor, there was still always a want of insight into the right relation between them. The line of transition from one to the other was not scientifically determined. And as the practical exegesis lost itself in subjective arbitrariness, the scientific on the other hand became too formal and inanimate, as not being of a nature to open the way for the application of its results to actual life, a business requiring indeed a different art. Or if the scientific interest at times did seek, in compliance with the feeling of practical need, to draw the other art at once into its own service, the exegesis became overladen with foreign matter, which was often brought in also in a purely violent way and had no growth whatever from the subject.

It is well known how in what was called practical exposition, there was often to be found indeed the expression of pious thoughts and feelings, suited to have some religious effect upon the reader; while however it was still too generally only an accidental connection, resting in the mere conceit of the interpre-

¹ Strom. lib. 1, 9.

ter, which thus prevailed after all between such application and the real objective meaning of the word from which it was drawn. The reflections and feelings brought into view were just such as had risen in a devotional and pious mind, when employed with the contemplation of a particular portion of scripture, and in this view they might be altogether true and good, nay the product even of gracious influence from the Spirit attending the prayerful study of the word; but still they were not the very sense of the word itself brought to bear on existing relations. It was always the subjective standpoint or frame of the expositor that here took the lead, not the Divine word itself as a revelation for all times, and as having force for the present also only through its capability of being the oracle at the same time of every other age. By disregarding the historical conditions of the word, in its application to the present time, exposition often ran out into tedious latitude, as we find it particularly in the so called Pietistic period, in which the German language had lost so much of Luther's vigorous and marrowy style, and German culture generally had become so prosy and flat. With what was truly edifying also there was a continual mixture of shallow insipidity, from an effort to improve practically that which only needed to be rightly understood and applied, to carry along with it at once the richest force in this form. Thus it is that what is termed practical exegesis has fallen not without reason into bad repute, and seems especially not to be on good terms with cultivated taste.

Afterwards followed the so-called moral interpretation of the Rationalistic school, which lacked in addition all sympathy with the true sense of the Divine word and stood in an order of thought wholly opposed to it, pretending morally to produce first that which is itself the only fountain and source of all morality. Yet even here there lay at the bottom some truth, only to be reached however in a different way, the idea namely and the necessity also of a really practical use of the Bible.

Practical exegesis, as appears from what has already been said, has for its necessary condition that which is rigidly scientific and according to art. This requires in the case of any author not simply linguistic but also historical knowledge; and along with the first, without which no exposition can succeed, the last forms especially the necessary basis of all sound application of the word to actual life. Every fact of literature, every word once spoken or written, belongs to history, and can be rightly understood only in its historical relations. We must seek to ascertain, what the writer or speaker meant to say under these

determinate connections and conditions. Only so can we reach the true sense of the words. To be able to do this, we must translate ourselves into the very circumstances of the time when the words were spoken or written, into the special relation of the speaker or writer to the particular circle addressed by him, as though we had before us a man of our own age. We must seek to be at home in the time concerned, as truly as we are in our own. This requires manifold studies having for their object the lively presentation of past history, and it requires also a special historical sense. Both must go together. The historical sense or tact will not be sufficient without the toil of study; but all learning too, acquired by study, will be in vain, without the historical sense, partly an original peculiar gift in the case of some and partly the result of proper cultivation. So long now as no right account was made of these indispensable requisites for all scientific exposition, it was not possible for practical exegesis to come to any prosperous development. When the Bible was viewed simply as a written revelation of the Holy Ghost, without regard to differences of time, men, and historical data generally; so long as only the one voice of the Spirit was heard to speak, as though the inspiration which prompted its authors to write put thoughts into them also in a given form; so long as the human persons of the writers themselves were not heard to speak, under the force of real human relations actually their own, as free organs of the Spirit with which they were actuated; there was no room in truth to think, either of an exposition answerable to the demands of art and science, or of the practical application of this in any fair way to present circumstances and present wants. It was necessary to open the way first to the right idea of all sound biblical interpretation, by distinguishing properly between the two factors that come together in the constitution of the Divine word as we have it in the Scriptures, before it was possible to proceed from this to the right use of it for practical purposes. The old mechanical theory of inspiration either made such sound practical exegesis impossible, or at least hindered and embarrassed it greatly. If God's revelation however was spoken not for one time only, but in speaking to a past period was designed to speak at the same time to all following periods, and so to the present also among others, it follows that to understand it in this last view we must necessarily first inquire, what the Holy Ghost in choosing such and such organs, so conditioned and circumstanced, and in allowing them to speak under such and such given historical relations, designed to say for that particular time, what precise sense the revelation

carried for those to whom it was first addressed. That is in other words, we must try to understand according to the laws of historical knowledge, what these particular organs of the Holy Ghost, in virtue of their individual peculiarities and their special posture in the living bosom of their own time, had it in their mind to say. Then first can we see, how God in speaking at one time, in proclaiming his revealed truth with practical adaptation to the circumstances of a given age, has at the same time spoken by this to our age also, since the truth carries in it always a similar relation to the laws and fundamental properties and wants of human nature. To get at this sense for our own time, we need only thus to derive the general from the particular, so as to reduce it again to the form of a particular application to the existing state of things. As both propositions are true, that there is nothing new under the sun, and that yet all must renew itself perpetually, we will need only to recognize the type of the present in that past which the organs of the Divine word addressed in speaking or writing, in order to apply it to the present time.

This however requires also that we should have a right knowledge and understanding of the present itself; for which we are to find the key in ourselves, as being in our own life united with the present and carrying in us its fundamental features, as we carry in us indeed an image of universal humanity. The case demands thus that we should be well acquainted with ourselves, and that we should descend with the Divine light into the interior depths of our own being, so as by self-knowledge to find the key for the knowledge of our age and time. We must have applied the contents of God's word first to ourselves, in order to be able to apply them to the world with which we find ourselves surrounded. As we must bring the time of the apostles before us in a present way by proper historical knowledge, in order to satisfy the requirements of scientific exposition, so must we have come to a thorough understanding of our own time also in its historical development, to be able to make the word of God a true word for its use. It must become clear to us, how the same apostle, who in relation to the practical and theoretical questions of his own day as the inspired organ of the Holy Ghost speaks thus and thus, would utter himself were he now at hand in relation to the questions of our day. It must be as though we heard him actually speaking himself, and what we expound to others should make an impression on them as if they heard the apostle himself speaking in their midst; not as if we could presume to compare ourselves with such a man of God, but just because

we try to leave our own personality wholly behind, and by the various helps of science and life already mentioned seek to apply to our time only the objective force of the Divine word whose organs the sacred writers were, not saying anything new, not adding anything of our own, not putting anything into the word; as is the case with those strained attempts at spiritualization, which read into the text rather than read out of it, and in which the effort is, however unconsciously, rather to glorify self, than to let the word take its own simple and profoundly majestic course. What we aim at in the method here proposed, is just to guard against the danger of a too subjective tendency, so as to draw out the treasures that lie in the depths of the word itself, and to bring them forth in fresh view to the living sense of the present. We aim to let the word speak through us, rather than to speak ourselves. We try, for example, to recognize in the difficulties of the Corinthian church the difficulties of our own time; and when we have succeeded, by all the means of science and art before noticed, in understanding properly what the apostle Paul says of the questions belonging to his own day, and how he deals with them, we will be able to reproduce his presence, as though we heard him speak and saw him act among the questions and difficulties also of the present time. It was thus, to borrow an example from another sphere, that the great historian and statesman Niebuhr knew how to read the present in the past, and to make the truths of past history of living force for his own age. So must the practical expositor understand, how to bring the apostolical period by proper historical reduction into union with that in which he himself lives. And in this practical application we may not stop simply with the truths expressly spoken by the inspired writers; the consequences also which flow from these, so far as they can be shown to be well grounded, are to be regarded as part of the revelation, and ought to be included accordingly in our application. In this way, keeping the different departments of knowledge asunder, and making proper account at once of their difference and their unity, we may bring truly to pass that which we see other forms of exegesis struggling after from the beginning, but which for the reasons already assigned has not been heretofore fully reached, at least not so far as regards the art of practical exposition.

Let us now cast a look on the New Testament itself, to see if we can find here countenance for the idea of what we have been thus far describing. We notice first the words of our Lord himself, when he compares a scribe rightly instructed for the kingdom of God to a householder, who brings forth from his

treasure things new and old, (Matth. xiii: 52), and who thus by such alternation of old and new pleases and excites his hearers, by attaching the new to the old finds for it more ready acceptance, makes the old to appear new and the new old. Our Lord says this here particularly in reference to the parables, which by the very fact of their answering to this rule, are suited to bring clearly before men truths that are new to them, and also to facilitate their comprehension. But the declaration is not to be confined certainly to *such* instruction, valued as it was by the Saviour especially on this account; it contains rather a general rule for the regulation of the teacher in the service of the kingdom of God. Every form of instruction, which in conformity with this law teaches the right knowledge and use of the mysteries of the kingdom of God, may be regarded as having here accordingly the commendation of the Lord himself. And especially must this hold of practical exegesis, which as we have shown is suited above all for setting the new in connection with the old, and for causing the old to become for us new and young.

Again we reckon as here in point the warning of the apostle Paul (1 Cor. x: 11) to the Corinthian christians, who were disposed to indulge a vain self-confidence and false security, relying too much on the fact of their past conversion, their incorporation into the Lord's body by baptism and their continued fellowship with it through the holy supper; a warning drawn from the example of that great mass of the ancient Israelites, who all followed the conduct of Moses, enjoyed the same Divine mercy in the passage of the Red Sea, were united together by the same covenant seals, while yet only a very few of them ever reached the land of promise. The punishment with which the nation generally was visited for its unfaithfulness and disobedience, should serve as an admonition to those who considered themselves in secure connection with the new christian theocracy, and so came short in its proper terms of fidelity, obedience and self-denial. What else now is this method of the apostle than what we have been describing as practical exegesis; in the past to read the present, and from the Divine conduct in relation to another age to draw the truth that is to be applied to the parallel relations of the age now passing? The way in which God formerly acted towards his people, is used as doctrine for the people of God in the time then present. And whilst Paul so applies this example out of the history of the ancient covenant people, he brings out himself the rule and method according to which the Scriptures generally are to be applied to a later time; for he says: "All these things happened unto them for exam-

ples, and they are written for our admonition upon whom the ends of the world are come." This implies the canon, that what has been written for the past we are to consider as written also for ourselves. Paul speaks thus of the Old Testament, as related to those who had experienced the coming in of the new covenant as the close of God's kingdom upon the earth. We may however apply it in the same way, and with still greater force, to the relation of the apostolical period to ours, inasmuch as our connection with the life of the early christian church is one of far greater nearness and unity.

The apostle, in another place, speaks against the undue valuation put upon the gift of tongues; one that was suited to attract much attention, and was more flattering to spiritual vanity than the gift of generally intelligible edifying discourse, which went under the name of prophecy in the apostolical age. Paul could not fail to disapprove of this judgment. He would restrain rather the use of the gift of tongues, as being of less account for the purposes of general edification. Only then should it be employed, when there was a capacity at the same time along with it to translate its generally unintelligible utterances into the form of common language. On the other hand he recommended so much the more the awakening discourse supplied by the gift of prophecy, as being suited to promote the spiritual benefit both of such as were already believers and of others also favorably disposed for religion, who attended the christian meetings out of curiosity or from some rising concern for their own salvation. To represent to the Corinthians now the absurdity of their judgment, he appeals (1 Cor. xiv : 21, 22) to the passage Isaiah xxviii : 11; where God threatens the Jews, that because they refused to hear the prophets speaking his will plainly to them, and calling them to repentance, in their own language, he would withdraw from them this voice of instruction and warning, and address them in tones of holy indignation through nations of foreign barbarous tongue sent against them as the instruments of his justice. This the apostle applies to the circumstances of the Corinthian church, and to the gift of tongues as compared with that of prophecy. As the nations speaking in unintelligible tongues sent to those addressed by the prophet were a sign of the Divine displeasure, so must it be taken as a sign of the same thing towards stiff necked unbelievers, who refused to hearken to the direct appeals of christian exhortation, when they found themselves left in a christian meeting to the mere sound of tongues which they had no power to understand; just as the parables, for those who *would* not understand them, were to be

a sign of their own condemnation for such ignorance. In this sense Paul says, that the use of tongues is a sign, not for believers, among whom he here reckons also such as are in the way to faith, but for unbelievers, those who have no heart to believe. He applies thus the general thought which lies in the passage from Isaiah, to the particular circumstances of the Corinthian congregation, what was true of foreign nations addressing the Israelites as the instruments of God's wrath, as compared with the prophets who had addressed them in their own tongue, to the case of the New Testament prophesyings as compared with the gift of tongues. To do this in detail was the business of practical exegesis. It required special scientific links and connections, to bring over the true historical sense of Isaiah's words in their immediate primary application, to the new application made of them by the apostle. The apostle however, having in his eye only the practical purpose immediately in hand, springs over all these intermediate links which it is the duty of science to explore. In the discharge of this duty thus, we learn from his example.

We notice farther the way, in which the apostle (Rom. iv : 3) quotes Abraham as an example and pattern of justification by faith. Paul applies here what was contained in a divine fact of the primitive history of the O. T. theocracy, to believers under the Gospel. We learn from the example of Abraham, that the distinguishing characteristic of the righteous is always only faith. By this man renounces himself, rises above himself, gives himself up to God's self-revelation, resigns himself to his way and will; and so it is the only condition, by which it is possible for man to become what the will of God concerning him requires. It is on the side of man the act of apprehension by which he appropriates what God offers and gives. So Paul applies the words in Genesis, that to Abraham his faith was counted for righteousness. Abraham was just as little as any other man sinlessly and absolutely righteous; but this his faith, as the only possible and indispensable means of receiving what is divine on the part of man, was of so much worth in the eyes of God, answerably to the interior sense of what faith in itself is, that in view of it he counted him righteous, allowed him to stand towards himself in this relation. The general sense of this fact now, Paul applies to the relation in which the christian stands to God. Faith is brought to pass in his case by the same psychological and ethical process as in the case of Abraham, though the object of the faith may be different. It is of the same significance as a deciding and determining power for the entire

religious life, and the force of it is still to place a sinful man in the same relation to God by which he becomes righteous. The christian *through it* alone can become, what God proposes to make of him by his grace. Here again we have an example of genuine practical exegesis, although we have to supply the links which it is the business of scientific inquiry to bring into view.

One more example finally we note, where Paul (1 Cor. ix : 9) applies the regulation of the Mosaic law Deut. xxv : 4, to the case of ministers in the christian churches, for whose support they are bound to provide in view of their having devoted all their activity to the spiritual service of their brethren. In this view he says with such reference : "Doth God take care for oxen ? Or saith he it altogether for our sakes ? For our sakes, no doubt, this is written." The passage however in its historical character did certainly refer to animals. The Mosaic law aimed to prefigure an ethical conception even in the treatment of the animal world. The counterpart of that righteousness which is due towards men, must be called into typical exercise in this conduct already towards mere dumb beasts. But the apostle applies it at once to the last term of the ethical conception, as this regards the treatment of men. He springs over the intervening general thought ; this namely, that from what is due even to animals laboring for us, we should learn what we are bound to do for men laboring for us, how we must recompense their service and not withhold from them their right. And this general thought is now at once applied to the particular relation of the congregation to their teachers. Here also we see what practical exegesis has to perform, how it must derive the general from the particular, and then apply this again to existing circumstances and wants ; and here also as regards the intermediate operations belonging to science, the same is to be said that has been said before.

We have only a word yet to say on the importance of practical exegesis, for those who undertake the office of the sacred ministry, especially at the present time. We have in the Evangelical Church no priestly office. We know only one Priest for mankind at large, and are persuaded that through him all believers have become a priestly race, that every christian is a priest in the calling assigned to him of God. In this respect accordingly those, who from having the gift of teaching or of government specially bestowed upon them have been called by the church to exercise a corresponding office in its service, have still no priority over the rest of the congregation. Neither can we say that in virtue of their office they alone are called to go before

all others with the light of a holy and exemplary life; for this also belongs to the common character of all who call themselves christians; as just in this consists indeed the signature and badge of their new priestly character. In this respect office gives no advantage; and there may be common members in the congregation whose piety forms its salt, and who in the attributes of a holy life excel those, that by their gifts and calling are placed ministerially at its head. It should be a pleasure to ministers, where they can discern such a work of the Holy Ghost in any of the members of their churches, thankfully and humbly to acknowledge the fact. Those who have made the farthest progress in sanctification, are not just by this called and qualified to take the government of the church into their hands. It would be a misapprehension of their gifts and calling, a mark of spiritual pride, if they should make any such pretension. It must be indeed the *endeavor* and *effort* of those who are at the head of the church to take the lead of all in life as well as word; for the two things of a truth go closely together. And from the beginning, one who seeks to prepare himself for the vocation of a minister should be occupied with this feeling, so as to bring all his knowledge to bear at once on his own life, and to fit himself by his life still for acquiring new knowledge. Πράξις ἐνέσθαις θεωρίας, as Gregory of Nazianzen says, He who is not filled with this feeling should have nothing to do with theology from the start, that he may not pursue this study to his own condemnation; of which we have alas but too many sad exemplifications in this time of sifting in the case of those, who through this study have become the most violent enemies of the gospel, like salt that has lost its savor, and from corrupt theologians have turned out to be at last only shallow and profane deniagogues. But still we cannot allow of any calling as such, that those belonging to it have the advantage of all others in the power of being holy.

What is it then that should distinguish those who are usually styled ministers from the church in general, that should form their special χάρισμα or gift? It is this, that by a scientifically developed sense they should form the medium of connection between the congregation and the Divine word contained in the sacred scriptures, that they should be thus the conscious bearers of the Divine word for the use of the congregation. Herein consists their true dignity, to be only organs of the word for the people, that it may be not themselves speaking in what they preach but the word speaking through them, that they lead the people to make all of the word and to give up their whole life

to its guidance. The light of the Holy Ghost as it is obtained by devotional diligence and prayer, they have in common with other believers; whence they may learn too even from enlightened lay persons, so far as regards the interior understanding of the Divine word from spiritual experience. In this respect also there is no privileged class; the light of the Holy Ghost is no monopoly. But what proceeds from scientific study alone, and is to be reached only by persevering exercise under the conduct of a scientific consciousness, this should those who stand at the head of the church possess in distinction from and above others. Only thus are they qualified to take such lead, which can never have place rightly except by means of the word. By means of practical exegesis, in the view of it now presented ministers should be interpreters of the Divine word for the life of the people, and should lead them to make a proper application of it to all living relations; something only then possible indeed, according to what we have seen, where the scientific understanding of the Scriptures with all its needful scientific conditions has gone before, so as to form always the sure ground for practical exposition. So should the sermon in particular breathe with practical exegesis, and in this way make itself felt on life. When this happens, preaching will be found what its end requires, the means whereby the Holy Ghost, who speaks in the word, speaks from it at the same time, by the organs he has formed for the purpose, to the life of the present time. All will become thus more full of thought and at the same time more individual.

And to glance now a moment at our own time. Here meets us the conflict between the old church orthodoxy and the culture of the age. There is now needed especially a right adjustment, between what is solid in the existing culture and the system of Christianity, which rejects nothing that belongs to the true human development of man's nature, to true humanity, but only seeks to transform all into a higher character. The problem is, after the pattern of the apostle Paul, to become all things to all men; not to sink down to the world, but to raise all from the world to heaven, to gain them for Christ. It must be shown to all, that there is one pearl which in its brilliancy far eclipses all other pearls, for which he who has found it is gladly ready to part with all besides, for the one highest good giving up all other forms of good—a sacrifice however which only brings them back again with new worth. Those whose minds are entangled in the conflict of old and new just mentioned, should by the pulpit be made to see and feel, that it is only in christianity still they can find all that their frequently unconscious longings seek, and

that their seeking itself proceeds more or less from the unconscious influence of christianity. This can be done, only through a right negotiation between the contents of the Divine word and the answer that is to be given to all the life questions of the age. Such a negotiation however, as is clear from what has been already said, can be brought to pass by means of practical exegesis alone. By this will the old become new and the new old. We think we have perceived, that in many quarters, where there was no lack of earnestly pious and enlightened ministers, these have still failed to exert a proper influence on the mass, just because they were deficient in this pliant mediatory skill, and could move forever only in one and the same circle of doctrinal or experimental notions.

The age needs a proper mediation between Christianity and the secular culture that has fallen away from its authority. What usually happens in such times of crisis, when a deeply felt religious want seeks vent in conflict with a worldly or infidel tendency, when the presentiment of something new, that *must* come, an inward longing towards it fills unsatisfied minds, namely that manifold forms of lawless self-will, manifold outbursts of enthusiasm, are found to prevail; ¹ this observation, we say, has begun to verify itself also in our age, and may be expected to do so more and more, until the new day which all desire shall be ushered in. However such appearances may fill us with grief, they still carry this comfort, that the present is no time of death stillness, that the mighty throes attending the birth of a new life can be seen and felt on all sides. In such a time it is especially needful again on this side also, that the application of the Divine word, which alone can furnish the true mean between the antagonisms that lead to perverseness and distortion, which alone can produce healthy clearness of mind, should discover to the age the crimson clew that may lead it through this labyrinth to the true and right issue, safe from the undue influence of a onesided subjectivity, which is ever prone to extravagance and excess. And for this practical exegesis will alone serve.

We have already said, that this art can be brought properly to prosper, only when we cease to look upon the collection of the sacred writings, with onesided doctrinal view, as a stiff uniform codex of divine revelation, when another conception of inspira-

¹ We are reminded of the word uttered by the Parisian chancellor Gerson, from the heart of such a time: *Fefellit multos nimia sensimentorum conquisitio.*

tion, more living and growing more directly out of the bosom of religious feeling itself, has taken the place completely of the old mechanical theory. For this very reason the later theology, of which the art is to be a distinguishing ornament, shows itself specially adapted to promote practical exegesis in the right form; as this is suited also to show, that by the overthrow of that old contracted view nothing is lost in the use to be derived from the Scriptures, but rather a great deal gained. In a still higher and richer sense than before, will the Bible by this means remain, in the face of all sorts of worldly culture and outliving the whole, the Book of Life. Men will no longer seek to find in it the solution of questions that pertain only to the interest of science in its different spheres, or that go quite beyond the range of human knowledge,¹ but will use it as the oracle for all that is necessary for man's *salvation*, for all the relations of life as they should be ordered in reference to its eternal scope. And for such right use of the Bible always practical exegesis must still show the way.

Translated by J. W. N.

MODERN CIVILIZATION.

Protestantism and Catholicity compared in their effects on the Civilization of Europe. Written in Spanish by the Rev. J. BALMES. Translated from the French. Baltimore: Published by John Murphy & Co. Pittsburg: George Quigley. 1851. Svo. pp. 514.

A VERY interesting and able work; written by a devoted Roman Catholic; but none the less worthy for this reason of being diligently read and considered by all intelligent and earnest minded Protestants. It is the boast of Protestantism, we all know, to seek the light, to shrink from no inquiry, to encourage the most unbounded intellectual and religious freedom, to be ready to listen at least even to an enemy's voice speaking in the name of reason, and not to refuse instruction from whatever quarter the smallest measure of it can be drawn. The only regret would seem to be with a certain class of its champions

¹ "Α πρὸ ἐξουσίας ἐμβαλεῖν, curiously praying into the secrets of the invisible world, Col. ii: 18.

often, that the opposite interest, that of the Roman Church, is not willing to meet it on the same fair, liberal and honorable terms; that when it says, "Come let us *reason* together," that proud party should only scorn the proposal, and seek on principle and system rather to cover itself up in blind fog, and to resist all learned investigation as something that is felt instinctively to be full of danger to all its towering pretensions. The complaint is that Roman Catholics love darkness rather than light, and are not willing to stand forward before the world, and give account of the faith that is in them at the bar of history and logic. In these circumstances, the book before us certainly deserves a welcome reception at the hands even of those whom it undertakes to assail and attack. For it is no vulgar onset, made up merely of declamatory noise and slang. It abounds, beyond all contradiction, in comprehensive learning and profound observation. It is full moreover of vivacity, the vigor of a fresh spiritual life, such as it is refreshing to commune with, whether we can lend ourselves fully to its cause or not. The work has evidently suffered some by translation, but it retains still no small amount of its original glow, rising at times into actual eloquence of no ordinary kind. Here then is just what we should all be glad to see, an able and dignified attempt on the side of Romanism to show itself better than Protestantism, on the very field which this last has been most ready of late to claim as altogether its own, the relative bearing of the two systems namely on the progress of modern society. Now instead of battling with the wind, our valorous Samsons have the opportunity of grappling, shoulder to shoulder, with a real flesh and blood foe, in the full panoply of Rome, whom all must allow to be in every respect worthy of their best prowess and zeal. Shall we not be glad of this for *their* sakes, as well as for the sake of that great cause of truth which is here in controversy and debate? Here is a fair field for new laurels, more green than any that have yet crowned their brows. Will they suffer it to go without improvement and use? One solid refutation of such a work as this of Balmes would be a more meritorious achievement for Protestantism, than fifty or five hundred replies to Archbishop Hughes in the reigning pulpit and rostrum style. What we need is not declamation and bold popular rant, but true scientific discussion; such as Rome is commonly charged with eschewing and abhorring, but has here at least happily so far forgotten herself as of her own accord to offer and court, on an arena which is open to the free gaze of the whole world. Let the book be read, and not ignored or treated as a nursery tale. Let its facts and rea-

opings be examined and understood, and not set aside with the wholesale flippancy of common schoolboy learning. Let its argument be honorably and honestly met and shorn of its strength, not turned into mountebank caricature merely, misrepresented and abused. Then in truth shall we have a victory, worthy of something more than bonfires and crackers. Nothing will be lost, but much gained, for the Protestant interest, by a trial of its merits thus ending in its own more full and conspicuous vindication. It is not by having nothing to withstand and surmount, but by facing rather and overcoming the most powerful opposition, that a good cause is shown to be worthy of confidence and trust. It is when the floods come and the winds blow, that the house on the rock is proved to be better than that whose foundation is only in the sand.¹

The work before us, we say, deserves the attention of intelligent Protestants, viewed merely in its polemical relations towards the system with which they are identified in opposition to the Church of Rome; for it is a respectable, dignified and truly learned challenge in this view, which furnishes fair and fit occasion at least, (not less perhaps than even the celebrated "Symbolik" of the German Möhler) for revising and resettling if possible still more firmly than before the argument for the Reformation. But we should not do justice either to the book or to our-

¹ Some, we know, affect to deride the idea of any such really trying force in any shape, on the side of the Roman Church. They will have it, that all its artillery is made up of fools' bells and children's rattles. To such we commend the following caution, which we are glad to find lately in the *New York Observer*:—"It is quite fashionable to sneer at Catholics as, on the whole, rather contemptible antagonists. They may have learning, it is thought, but it is antiquated lumber. They may have eloquence, but it tends to declamation. They may have art, but the cunning is too transparent, to be tried before an American community. Those who reason thus, do not know the resources which Rome possesses, and can create in men. They ought not to judge of all Romanist archbishops, by John of New York. There are men here, or certainly there are men in training to come among us, who will try to do the same work which Cardinal Wiseman has done in England. The power of eloquence, and learning, and sanctity, has not yet been exhausted in the service of that terrible organization, that wondrous device of the wicked one; and Protestants are called on to see to it, that there shall be men as learned, as accomplished, and more truly Christian, in training, to cope with the emissaries from Rome. Let us take warning in time. It is not by declamation, nor by contempt, nor even by sinewy argument for the common mind, that this foe is to be effectually overcome; but learning, and eloquence, and taste, and piety combined, must be formed and sustained by Protestant institutions of the highest and most thorough character—or we shall suffer for our neglect."

selves, if we shrunk from acknowledging that its claims to the interest of Protestants, in our eyes, go much beyond such merely incidental and comparatively indirect use. To a large extent, we look upon it as a noble and masterly apology for the cause of Christianity itself, over against the radical and infidel tendencies of the age, which under the plausible cover of hostility to Rome and zeal for freedom, are directed in truth against the whole mystery of Christ and his Church, and would if it were possible sweep it entirely from the face of the earth. There is a certain style of Protestantism, we know, though certainly a very bad style of it, which is ready at once to place itself in the wrong here, by confounding such an apology for the Christian Church with an apology for Romanism as it now stands, and so planting itself in opposition to it on the same ground substantially with the antichristian interest against which directly the defence is directed; as though it were better in this case to make common cause for the time with infidelity itself, than to be found in any sort of juxtaposition with Rome. With this way of thinking we of course have no sympathy; neither are we willing for one moment to allow, that the main body of the cause so eloquently set forth in the argument of the learned and pious Balmes belongs to Romanism only, and not to Protestantism; for that would be tantamount in our mind to a surrendry of this last interest altogether, as something in no sort comprehended in the past life of the Church and the glorious fountain from which it springs. The more trophies and crowns of honor the Church of former ages can be shown to have won in the service of her adorable Head, the more tokens her history can be brought to furnish of his powerful presence in her midst, the more will we be pleased and rejoice, Protestant though we be; and we shall not suffer our satisfaction to be taken from us certainly, just because Romanism, as in the present case, may be active in proclaiming the distinction, and would fain turn it exclusively to its own credit. Looking at the matter in this way, we know no good reason why the book before us should not be welcome to Protestants, as a general apology for Christianity, full as much as to Romanists.

We should be glad indeed to have it widely studied, for the very reason that it seems to us admirably adapted to expose and counteract those false views of the past history of the Church, to which we have already referred as too often usurping the Protestant name, and causing it to appear in bad connection with open unbelief. It belongs to the character of this Pseudo-protestantism, to make the chasm as wide and deep as possible, be-

tween the time since the Reformation and the time that went before. It takes a pleasure in finding all wrong and false in the one direction, in order to have the more reason for glorifying all as right and true in the other. The reign of Christ, in its eyes, took a new start with Luther, after having been through ten long centuries overwhelmed almost entirely by the reign of Satan. There were no doubt all along a few witnesses for the truth here and there in places out of the way; but the great body of the so called christian world, the nominal succession of the universal christian name, had become hopelessly corrupt, wedded and sold to the power of all sorts of error; so that the only wonder is, that it should have been able to hold together at all, to keep up its own organization, through so vast a tract of time. But this simply shows, how an infernal policy had got possession of the visible church for its own ends. The whole was indeed the Devil's master-piece, a wondrous device of the Wicked One, to enslave the nations and lead them captive at his will. It was indeed sufficiently irrational and absurd, as well as monstrously profane, and at the same time so boldly and impudently arrogant in its pretensions, putting its foot on the neck of kings, that we may well be astonished at the long and wide success of its usurpations; but the time was dark and the mind of the world unripe; and all pains were taken by the usurping power to perpetuate the darkness, nay to make it always more black and deep, as a favorable covering for its nefarious purposes and plans. There was a systematic effort made to extinguish the light of the Bible, and to bind the human mind in chains of ignorance and superstition. All free inquiry was discouraged, and the rights of private judgment trampled under foot. The doctrine and discipline of the Church, in the hands of a licentious ambitious priesthood, became both together a pliant contrivance merely, for the advancement of high handed spiritual tyranny in one direction and the most abject blind obedience and bondage in another. Thus the presence of the Church lay like a fatal incubus, throughout Europe, on all upward tendencies in the moral and social system, not for one century only, but for a whole dreary millenium of years. The nations were struck as with deadly paralysis, and had no power over their own limbs. All political institutions were hindered in their natural growth. Letters languished. Morals and manners ran perfectly wild. It was one age of darkness always only followed by another. To imagine any real progress in such circumstances is out of the question; the most that can be allowed is, that the ulcer of the times might have been gradually ripening towards such bad extremity,

as was needed to call out the latent powers of society finally in the way of protest and redress. It would be a relief, only to be sure that history stood still. But it is not of the nature of the world's life to remain thus stationary for a thousand years. Not to move forwards, is as a general law to move in the contrary direction; and it would seem accordingly that in the case before us, the shadow actually went back on the dial plate of civilization, God only knows how many degrees, between the sixth century and the sixteenth. In the ever memorable and graphically characteristic language of *Kirwan*, the coryphaeus of this theory of history: "When the Reformation occurred, the *retrograde* movement of the world towards ignorance and barbarism and idolatry, had *almost* been completed. Had it not occurred, a radiance might continue to gild the high places of earth after the gospel sun had set—a twilight might be protracted for a few ages in which a few might grope their way to heaven; but each age would have come wrapped in a deeper and yet deeper gloom, until impenetrable darkness had fallen on the world!"

What a dismal picture of God's providence and Christ's faithfulness to his own word, in the history of Christianity for a thousand years! And there are men, calling themselves evangelical and friends of the Saviour's cause beyond others, who can gloat over this view of the past, and feed their fancy sweetly on its hideous features, out of spite to Rome, in the imagination that they are doing God service, as well as pleasing their own hearts, by their miserable infidelity. To all such, who may have a zeal for Protestantism in their own way, but not according to either faith or knowledge, as well as to all others also of better disposition, who may find their minds bewildered and oppressed with the authority of this false theory of church history, without being reconciled to it in their hearts, we earnestly commend the book here under review, as one eminently suited to assist them at least, in rising towards a higher, purer and more animating vision of the glorious city and commonwealth of God. The very object of the work is one, that should find a response in every believer's soul. In full contrast with the Pseudo-protestant spirit just noticed, it moves in the element not of infidelity but of faith, and aims not to undermine, but to establish the Divine character of Christianity, by showing that the seals of its truth which appear upon it in the beginning, the evidences in its favor that stand forth to view from its history during the first four centuries, are followed by corresponding seals and evidences under the same outward form in the centuries of darkness that follow. Is not this a noble purpose? And if it can be to any ex-

tent made good, shall it not be considered a welcome service which is thus rendered to the cause of religion and piety? If it be honorable to vindicate the ways of God to man in common history, or in the constitution of mere nature, how much more should it be so regarded to vindicate his truth and fidelity, as they are concerned in the history of his Church for ten centuries of years. Any argument that addresses itself to such an object in a serious and manly way, deserves at once our gratitude and respect.

We have good right in this case to say still farther, that the only proper posture to begin with in any such inquiry, is that of trust and hope in favor of the end it aims to reach. It has often been remarked truly, that the first condition for doing justice in any case to the evidence in favor of religious truth, is a certain measure of sympathy with the truth itself and a wish to find it true; whereas an opposite leaning of the heart, or even a state of cold philosophical indifference, can hardly fail to act as a heavy downward weight in the wrong scale. Apply this to the general question here in hand. Did the presence of God in the Church, as it may be clearly read in the first four centuries of its history, become a total failure in the ten centuries that followed, making room only for the presence of the Devil; or may it still be read, from the fifth century down to the fifteenth, by tokens no less wonderful and glorious than before? To this question the really *christian* answer, it is plain, can be but one; and that is such as springs at once to the mouth of all childlike unsophisticated faith. The overwhelming presumption, not to be got rid of without an effort, where the divine origin of our holy religion has at all made itself felt, is that God did not forsake the work of his own hands after the fourth century, but continued to reign over it through the Middle Ages as directly as before; so much the honor and credit of the christian cause is felt imperiously to require; and so far as the heart is at all properly predisposed towards this cause, and in sympathy with it, it cannot fail both to expect and to desire that such natural presumption in its favor shall turn out to be in full agreement with the actual voice of facts. The man who comes to the study of the first three centuries of ecclesiastical history with the skeptical spirit of a Gibbon or Voltaire, as compared for instance with the childlike veneration of a Neander, is by his very position disqualified for all sound historical judgment in the matter with which he is called to deal; his mind is vitiated by the prejudice of infidelity from the very start; and it is only natural accordingly, that he should find all to be as destitute of divinity as it is the wish of

his heart it should be, a jumble of absurdities, a tissue of delusions, in which is to be read no trace whatever of God's supernatural presence, but the melancholy record only of corruption, passion and folly, on the part of man. And why should the same observation be of any less force, when extended to the ecclesiastical history of a later time? Shall that be taken as a recommendation for the student of such history here, which in the other case is allowed on all hands to amount to a full disability for his task; that he comes to it, namely, with the unbelieving sneering humor of an absolutely infidel mind, wishing to find all as bad as possible, and fully possessed beforehand with the theory, that it is a reign of wickedness and folly only that fills the history of the Church through this long period, the very masterpiece indeed and most perfect work of the Devil, and in no sense whatever a reign of righteousness and truth presided over by the Holy Ghost? To state such a question simply, is at the same time to expose its absurdity. No; in this whole controversy, we are bound to see and allow that the presumption of truth, for all true christian feeling, is from the outset against Pseudo-protestantism and in favor of the opposite side. This wholesale denunciation of the Church of the Middle Ages, accompanied with ribaldry and scorn, whatever ulterior object men may mean to serve by it, is in its own nature of infidel relationship and complexion; and from the very outset therefore we are bound to regard it with suspicion, to go against it with our prayers and wishes, and to withhold from it all assent that is not as it were wrenched from us by proofs that cut off all room for question or debate. Such a work as this of Balines on the contrary, so far as it aims simply to establish the honor and credit of the cause thus maligned and to vindicate the faithfulness of God to his own word for a thousand years, challenges our best sympathies in its favor from the start. We feel, so far as the pulse of a sound christian life beats in our hearts, that it ought to come off victorious; we wish it success; we make common cause with it in our desires and hopes. A friendly spirit seems to surround us in its pages. We are refreshed and invigorated by the very air that breathes upon us from the whole region and field of its argument; for it is the element of faith and reverence and love, that comes to the soul like the sense of its proper native home; and to move in it is of itself at once a source of spiritual joy and strength.

It will be observed, that the work before us aims in fact at two general purposes: first, to vindicate the honor and credit of the Church before the time of the Reformation, as the true mother

of our modern civilization and culture ; secondly, to show that Protestantism, instead of helping, has only hindered and retarded the onward movement of this cause. These two objects in the mind of the author indeed seem to be almost one and the same. But it needs no great depth of reflection certainly to see, that they can easily bear separation. We may allow the first, and yet oppose the second. Pseudo-protestantism indeed, as we have just seen, falls in here with the other view ; making the opposition between the time before the Reformation and the time since to be of such a nature, that any merit allowed to the first must be taken as an equivalent drawback on the worth of the second. But this is in reality to give up the defence of Protestantism altogether, and to sell the whole cause into the hand of its enemies. We of course agree to no such treason. On the contrary we earnestly protest against it, as the sorest and deepest wrong that could well be inflicted on the Protestant cause. We deny that the honors and glories of the Church before the Reformation, whether in the first or middle centuries, belong exclusively in the way of historical heritage to the present Roman communion. Our faith in Protestantism is conditioned by the assumption, that the succession of the old church life still flows truly and vigorously in its veins. Why then should we wish to detract from the merit of this life at any point, and not be pleased rather with all that redounds to its praise ? When the question is asked : What part has it had in the great work of modern civilization ? we are quite willing, nay anxious, to find the answer as widely favorable as possible ; and we give ourselves no trouble, in this case, about the bearing this may have on the comparative merits of Romanism and Protestantism. That brings into view another question altogether, which we would be very sorry to consider so involved in the first as to be brought to a conclusion by it one way or the other.

Modern European Civilization presents to our view the grandest and most imposing spectacle in the universal history of the world. With all the richness and variety of its contents, with all the field it covers in space and the long tract through which it reaches in time, it is still a single fact, capable of being viewed as a whole and allowing comparison in this way with other facts of the like sort, other systems of civilization that have passed away before it or that still prevail in other parts of the earth. So we find it commended to our attention in the celebrated Historical Lectures of M. Guizot. The more the subject is studied, in the way of comparison and contrast especially with the ancient civilization, and with due regard to all the conditions under

which the modern culture has been brought to pass, the more full of interest will it appear and worthy of admiration. The modern civilization of Europe is in some respects a comparatively recent fact; it begins to appear in its proper form only a few centuries back, and is still but entering we may say on the full solution of its own social and moral problems. But as such a new creation, it is not to be regarded of course as bursting upon the world by accident or sudden surprise. There was a long preparation for it in previous ages; and this preparation enters properly into the constitution of the fact itself, just as really as the growth of the stem or stalk is one with the life of the bursting flower that forms its end. The greatness of the fact here is to be estimated by the wide and vast scale of material, time and work, through which it was brought to pass. A full thousand years were required, to bring it up to the form it carried in the age of the Reformation. To understand it properly, to do justice to the historical greatness of the fact, we must consider it as a process or movement reaching through all this time; we must have clearly before us the difference between the beginning and the end; we must be familiar in our thoughts with the elements of darkness, disorder and contradiction, in the midst of which the work of regeneration was to be carried forward from age to age.

The old Roman civilization, it will be borne in mind, had run its course and was ready to perish of its own accord; when the full tide of barbarism was poured upon it from the North, and scarce a wreck was left to tell of its ancient glory. It is hard for us now to form a conception of the political ruin that followed. The foundations of society were literally broken up, and moral chaos reigned on every side. The elements of barbarism were let loose in every direction, to roll and toss in perpetual confusion without control. There was nothing stable or firm. "States were created, suppressed, united, and divided; no governments, no frontiers, no nations; a general jumble of situations, principles, events, races, languages: such was barbarian Europe." Thus speaks M. Guizot; who then goes on also to tell us, that this tumultuating state of society lasted through hundreds of years. "It must not be supposed that the invasions of the barbarian hordes stopped all at once, in the fifth century. Do not believe that because the Roman empire was fallen, and kingdoms of barbarians founded upon its ruins, that the movement of nations was over. There are plenty of facts to prove that this was not the case, and that this movement lasted a long time after the destruction of the empire." To the invasions

from the north was added in time the Saracen pressure on the south. "Such was the situation of Europe from the fifth to the ninth century. Pressed on the south by the Mohammedans, and on the north by the Germans and Slavonians, it could not be otherwise than that the reaction of this double invasion should keep the interior of Europe in a continual ferment. Populations were incessantly displaced, crowded one upon another; there was no regularity, nothing permanent or fixed."¹ Various attempts were made to reorganize society; but it was not till after the commencement of the tenth century, according to Guizot, that the reign of barbarism could be said to have received any effectual and lasting check. And then of course the material out of which the new order was to rise, lay still in rude and wild disorder on all sides. It was the work of centuries still to bring them into shape and fit them to their proper place. There were indeed dark ages, wild ages, abounding in ignorance, wickedness, lawlessness and blood. But the worse we conceive of them in this view, the more reason only will we have to admire the mighty power of the process which was still at work in the bosom of them, to bend such unruly forces to its own use in the elaboration of the modern European culture, and the deeper must be at the same time our sense of the greatness and significance of this vast social result. For out of chaos here, through centuries of strife and confusion, has sprung in truth a new world of order and light and law, such as earth never saw before; a civilization which with all its present defects, and the dangers of failure to which it is still exposed, must be allowed immeasurably to surpass in what it has already produced, and in its capabilities of future production, every other human civilization that has yet appeared.

In explaining this great historical fact, it is known generally that M. Guizot allows a large place to the agency of the Church, as one of the factors concerned throughout in bringing it to pass. In this respect he shows himself a more respectable Protestant, and with all his rationalistic sympathies is found to be a more safe guide in the sphere of religion, than many of far less learning and much higher pretension to piety, with whom it is a point of orthodoxy to reduce this agency to zero, or even a good many degrees lower still, for the purpose of disparaging the Christianity of the Middle Ages. "The Church," he tells us, "has ex-

¹ General History of Civilization in Europe. American ed. 1839. p. 72-75.

exercised a vast and important influence upon the moral and intellectual order of Europe; upon the notions, sentiments, and manners of society. This fact is evident; the intellectual and moral progress of Europe has been essentially theological. Look at its history from the fifth to the sixteenth century, and you will find throughout, that theology has possessed and directed the human mind; every idea is impressed with theology; every question that has been started, whether philosophical, political, or historical, has been considered in a religious point of view. So powerful indeed has been the authority of the church in matters of intellect, that even the mathematical and physical sciences have been obliged to submit to its doctrines. The spirit of theology has been as it were the blood which has circulated in the veins of the European world, down to the time of Bacon and Descartes."—"The influence of the Church, moreover, has given to the development of the human mind, in our modern world, an extent and variety which it never possessed elsewhere. In the East, intelligence was altogether religious: among the Greeks it was almost exclusively human. There human culture, humanity, properly so called, its nature and destiny, actually disappeared: here it was man alone, his passions, his feelings, his present interests, which occupied the field. In our world the spirit of religion mixes itself with all, but excludes nothing.—Thus the two great sources of human development, humanity and religion, have been open at the same time, and flowed in plenteous streams. Notwithstanding all the evil, all the abuses, which may have crept into the Church, notwithstanding all the acts of tyranny of which she has been guilty, we must still acknowledge her influence upon the progress and culture of the human intellect to have been beneficial; that she has assisted in its development rather than its compression, in its extension rather than its confinement." Guizot takes pains moreover to distinguish in this case between simple Christianity and the Church. "At the end of the fourth century, and the beginning of the fifth, (Lect. II. p. 50.) Christianity was no longer a simple belief, it was an institution—it had formed itself into a corporate body. It had its government, a body of priests; a settled ecclesiastical polity for the regulation of their different functions; revenues; independent means of influence." As a mere doctrine or theory the new religion would not have been able to sustain itself at all in the dissolution of the old Roman

¹ Gen. Hist. of Civ., p. 151, 153.

world, much less to control in any way the action of the blind forces that now gained the ascendancy. "At this time there existed none of those means, by which in the present day moral influences become established or rejected without the aid of institutions; none of those means by which an abstract truth now makes way, gains an authority over mankind, governs their actions, and directs their movements. Nothing of this kind existed in the fourth century; nothing which could give to simple ideas, to personal opinions, so much weight and power. Hence I think it may be assumed, that only a society firmly established under a powerful government and rules of discipline could hope to bear up amid such disasters, could hope to weather so violent a storm. I think then, humanly speaking, that it is not too much to aver, that in the fourth and fifth centuries it was the christian church that saved christianity; that it was the christian church, with its institutions, its magistrates, its authority,—the christian church which struggled so vigorously to prevent the interior dissolution of the empire, which struggled against the barbarian and which in fact overcame the barbarian: it was this *church*, I say, that became the great connecting link—the principle of civilization, between the Roman and the barbarian world."

At the same time M. Guizot does not hesitate to ascribe a certain amount of evil also, to the general agency here brought into view. "By softening the rugged manners and sentiments of the people; by raising her voice against a great number of practical barbarisms, and doing what she could to expel them, there is no doubt but the Church largely contributed to the amelioration of the social condition; but with regard to *politics* properly so called, with regard to all that concerns the relations between the governing and the governed, between power and liberty," her influence in his opinion (p. 153) has been baneful. Altogether too the agency in question is treated in these famous Lectures only as one among several other great factors, that might seem to have wrought together, with a sort of accidental conjunction and co-ordination, under the conduct of Divine Providence, for the accomplishment of the ultimate result. Much account is made in this way particularly of certain traits and tendencies supposed to have been imbedded in the original nature of the Teutonic barbarians, such as the feeling of personal independence and the idea of military patronage, that grew up subsequently into the feudal system. The theory is, that modern civilization, in its infancy and throughout, is a sort of compound of various independent forces and elements, that

have conspired with more or less volcanic confusion and violence to bring it to pass; among which it is felt necessary in philosophical candor to assign a conspicuous place to the organization of the Medieval Church, whose activity is found to run parallel at least with other forms of power from the commencement of the whole movement to its close.

In the work of Balme now before us regard is had all along to this theory of M. Guizot, as one which with all its pretended fairness does gross wrong to the actual truth of history, as well as to the honor of the christian religion. The work of the Spaniard however is of a far wider range than that of the Frenchman, and throws it also completely into the shade by its superior learning and more brilliant style of thought. He gives the whole glory of our modern civilization to the Church. There were other powers of course, merely natural and secular elements, that entered largely into the process; but these are not to be regarded as parallel or co-ordinate with the Church; they were but as matter and stuff rather in her hands, which took shape and place at last in the general structure only through the plastic pressure by which they were thus powerfully ruled; to her in a sense exclusively belonged under God the animating supernatural spirit and wondrous architectural skill, by which the whole work age after age was slowly carried towards the skies.

"Our hearts swell with generous indignation," this author writes, "when we hear the religion of Jesus Christ reproached with a tendency towards oppression. It is true, that if you confound the spirit of real liberty with that of demagogues, you will not find it in Catholicity; but if you avoid a monstrous misnomer, if you give to the word liberty its reasonable, just, useful and beneficial signification, then the Catholic religion may fearlessly claim the gratitude of the human race, *for she has civilized the nations who embraced her, and civilization is true liberty.*"—"With respect to civilization, a distinction is sometimes made between the influence of Christianity and that of Catholicity; its merits are lavished on the former, and stinted to the latter, by those who forget that, with respect to European civilization, Catholicity can always claim the principal share, and for many centuries an exclusive one; since during a very long period she worked alone at the great work. People have not been willing to see, that when Protestantism appeared in Europe, the work was bordering on completion; with an injustice and an ingratitude which I cannot describe, they have reproached Catholicity with the spirit of barbarism, ignorance and oppression, while they were making an ostentatious display of

the rich civilization, knowledge and liberty, for which they were principally indebted to her." A proper comparison between the course of life in the East, where this agency was in large measure wanting, and the progress seen in the West, where it was in full force, should of itself be enough to correct this false judgment. "In the West, the revolutions were multiplied and fearful; the chaos was at its height; and nevertheless, out of chaos came light and life." Neither the barbarism of the nations who inundated those countries, and established themselves there, nor the previous assaults of Islamism, even in the days of its greatest power and enthusiasm, could succeed in destroying the germs of a rich and fertile civilization. In the East, on the contrary, all tended to old age and decay; nothing revived; and under the blows of the power which was ineffectual against us, all was shaken to pieces. The spiritual power of Rome and its influence on temporal affairs, have certainly borne fruits very different from those produced, under the same circumstances, by its violent opponents."—P. 80, 81.

"Although the Church attached the greatest importance to the propagation of truth, although she was convinced that to destroy the shapeless mass of immorality and degradation that met her sight, her first care should be to expose error to the dissolving fire of true doctrines, she did not confine herself to this; but, descending to real life, and following a system full of wisdom and prudence, she acted in such a manner as to enable humanity to taste the precious fruit which the doctrines of Jesus Christ produce even in temporal things. The Church was not only a *great and fruitful school*; she was also a *regenerative association*; she did not diffuse her general doctrines by throwing them abroad at hazard, merely hoping that they would fructify with time; she developed them in all their relations, applied them to all subjects, inoculated laws and manners with them, and realized them in institutions which afforded silent but eloquent instructions to future generations. Nowhere was the dignity of man acknowledged, slavery reigned everywhere; degraded woman was dishonored by the corruption of manners, and debased by the tyranny of man. The feelings of humanity were trodden under foot, infants were abandoned, the sick and aged were neglected, barbarity and cruelty were carried to the highest pitch of atrocity in the prevailing laws of war; in fine, on the summit of the social edifice was seen an odious tyranny, sustained by military force, and looking down with an eye of contempt on the unfortunate nations that lay in fetters at its feet. —In such a state of things it certainly was no slight task, to re-

move error, to reform and improve manners, abolish slavery, correct the vices of legislation, impose a check on power and make it harmonize with the public interest, give new life to individuals, and reorganize family and society; and yet nothing less than this was done by the Church."—P. 90, 91.

This vast work of social regeneration required for its basis the *destruction of slavery*. It is not easy for us now to conceive of the extent to which this evil prevailed in the ancient world, or of the difficulties that stood in the way of its perfect extirpation. Guizot allows large credit to the Church for the revolution which has been wrought in regard to it, but refuses to give her full praise; because, as he says, "slavery existed for a long time in the bosom of christian society without exciting astonishment or much opposition." But this only shows that the revolution was conservative and agreeable to the genius of the Gospel, not radical and after the fashion of Red Republicanism. "Slavery was deeply rooted in laws, manners, ideas, and interests, individual and social; a fatal system, no doubt, but the eradication of which all at once it would have been rash to attempt, as its roots had penetrated deeply and spread widely in the bowels of the land." The number of slaves was immense. They could not be set free without the will of society, and their freedom also conferred upon them as a general sudden gift must have proved a curse to themselves as well as to others. To accomplish a real and lasting removal of the evil, it was necessary that the sources of it should be corrected, and that the general order of life out of which it grew should be brought to assume a new *spirit* and a different form. This was a work which in the nature of the case required the strong action of a profound and constant force, bearing through a series of centuries towards the same end. We have no right then, according to our author, to enter an exception to the credit of the Church in the case of this great work, on the ground that it was not carried through at once in a violent and sudden way. "That slavery endured for a long time in presence of the Church is true; but it was always declining, and it only lasted as long as was necessary to realize the benefit without violence—without a shock—without compromising its universality and its continuation. Moreover we ought to subtract from the time of its continuance many ages, during which the Church was often proscribed, always regarded with aversion, and totally unable to exert a direct influence on the social organization. We ought also, to a great extent, to make exception of later times, as the Church had only begun to exert a direct and public influence, when the irruption of the northern

barbarians took place, which, together with the corruption that infected the empire and spread in a frightful manner, produced such a perturbation, such a confused mass of languages, customs, manners and laws, that it was almost impossible to make the regulating power produce salutary fruits. If in later times it has been difficult to destroy feudality; if there remain to this day, after ages of struggles, the remnants of that constitution; if the slave trade, although limited to certain countries and circumstances, still merits the universal reprobation which is raised throughout the world against its infamy; how can we venture to express our astonishment, how can we venture to make it a reproach against the Church, that slavery continued some ages after she had proclaimed men's fraternity with each other, and their equality before God."—*P. 94.*

This leads to a somewhat extended view of the action of the Church towards slavery, in four separate chapters of the book devoted expressly to the purpose. In connection with these we have presented to us at the same time, in the way of appendix at the close of the volume, a tolerably full apparatus of the original authorities, the canons of different councils and other documents, on which the statements of the text are made to rest. The whole forms a very interesting and truly instructive disquisition on the subject of slavery, and its relations to the christian church, which well deserves the attention of the mere historical scholar as well as the friend of true religion. We find evidence enough of the continuance of this terrible social abuse in Europe far down towards modern times; references to its presence meet us on all sides; it might seem in one view even to have found a sanctuary in the bosom of the church itself. For we find here also the ownership of slaves, in the form directly of church property and in the service of the ministers of religion. It was necessary thus from time to time to restrain abuses that grew out of the evil among ecclesiastics and religious houses themselves; and for one bent on making out a dark picture of the Middle Ages, for the purpose of laying it all to the account of the church as it then stood, it would be easy enough to derive from this quarter alone the most ample material for denunciation and reproach. It was in truth a dark time, a period of wild disorder and misrule in the history of the European world. Strange illustrations of the rude state of manners meet us even in comparatively late times. What shall we say of the fact, that even so late as the twelfth century the Irish were accustomed to buy English slaves of merchants, robbers and pirates, and that it was quite common even for parents in England to sell their own

children into such miserable servitude ! But what now was the part taken by the Church, as a public historical institution, in regard to this monstrous system ? To this question, so soon as we refer to her own authoritative acts and declarations, there is but one answer and that immediately at hand. From first to last, her influence has been steadily directed against slavery. Under no circumstances has she allowed herself to be bribed into its service, so as to lend her countenance and sanction to it as something good in the social order of the world. She had a philosophy of her own here, far more sublime than that taught either by Plato or Aristotle, which she never relinquished for a moment, in the face of any amount of interest, power or fashion, arrayed on the opposite side. Her whole theory of man's personality, and of his relations to God ; went in full opposition to the relation in question, and so far as it gained ground could not fail to sap and undermine always more and more the whole system of thought on which it depended. That this opposition was at the same time patient, that it did not expend itself at once in a whirlwind of fanaticism, that it protracted itself with a wise accommodation to circumstances from one age to another, in the midst of all sorts of difficulty and discouragement, only serves the more impressively to commend it to our admiration and respect, only goes the more fully to characterise the agency as something greater than mere humanity and in affinity with God.

Not only was the general doctrine of the church a quiet protest continually against slavery, there was a continual exercise besides of ecclesiastical legislation, all looking towards it as an evil and aiming to limit and restrain its abuses. It is remarkable that from first to last this agency never swerved from the one direction ; its scope was always the same. That manifold corruptions and abuses prevailed among the ministers of religion themselves, that the disorders of the time extended in the persons of many ecclesiastics to the very bosom of the sanctuary itself, is not to be questioned for a moment ; the evidence of it is found at large in the ecclesiastical monuments of every age ; but this only makes it the more wonderful, that the spirit of the system as a whole should notwithstanding have remained true always to the cause of humanity and mercy. The decrees of councils, the voice of the church in her corporate capacity, her universal policy and legislation, were ever on the side of righteousness and freedom and in opposition to tyrannical wrong. She regarded herself from the beginning as the refuge of the distressed, the advocate and helper of the needy ; and so the cause

of the slave also was viewed as her natural and proper charge. She was their patroness and guardian, and it was their privilege to lay claim to her protection in this character. Her relation to them is strikingly shown by the fact, that it was common for slaves who had offended their masters to fly to the christian temples as an asylum from their wrath; in which case her mediation was ever ready to be powerfully exercised in their favor. We find various decrees of councils bearing upon this object. So it was common to perform manumissions in the churches, for the purpose of making them more solemn, and to place those who were thus set free more immediately and fully under the care of the same powerful and tender mother. The protection of freed slaves was looked upon as her special trust. Hence the custom was introduced of recommending slaves to her care, by will or otherwise, for the more effectual accomplishment of their emancipation either at once or at some future time. In this way she came to have a large property in slaves herself, and all pains were taken indeed to increase this title; but it was a tenure for their advantage rather than her own, and looked towards freedom as its ultimate purpose and aim. In the end a special regulation was introduced, forbidding them to be passed into the hands of other masters; they are regarded as consecrated to God, and if their state was to be changed at all it must be for freedom only, and not for any other bondage. The zeal of the Church again for the redemption of captives, must have contributed powerfully to the abolition of slavery. This we know was of the most extraordinary character, stopping at no sacrifices for the accomplishment of its object. "The influence of it was so much the more salutary, as it was developed precisely at the time when it was most needed, that is, in those ages when the dissolution of the Roman empire, the irruption of the barbarians, the fluctuations of so many peoples, and the ferocity of the invading nations, rendered wars so frequent, revolutions so constant, and the empire of force so habitual and prevailing. Without the beneficent and liberating intervention of christianity, the immense number of slaves bequeathed by the old society to the new, far from diminishing, would have been augmented more and more; for wherever the law of brute force prevails, if it be not checked and softened by a powerful element, the human race becomes rapidly debased, the necessary result of which is the increase of slavery."

We shall not pretend however to follow in detail the course of doctrine and action, by which the Church continued to wrestle with this giant evil from century to century, until it fell finally

beneath the strength of her arms. The general process is thus recapitulated by Balmes:

"First, she loudly teaches the truth concerning the dignity of man; she defines the obligations of masters and slaves; she declares them equal before God, and thus completely destroys the degrading theories which stain the writings even of the greatest philosophers of antiquity. She then comes to the application of her doctrines: she labors to improve the treatment of slaves; she struggles against the atrocious right of life and death; she opens her temples to them as asylums, and when they depart thence, prevents their being ill treated; she labors to substitute public tribunals for private vengeance. At the same time that she guarantees the liberty of the enfranchised, by connecting it with religious motives, she defends that of those born free, she labors to close the sources of slavery, by displaying the most active zeal for the redemption of captives, by opposing the avarice of the Jews, by procuring for men who were sold easy means of recovering their liberty. The Church gives an example of mildness and disinterestedness; she facilitates emancipation, by admitting slaves into monasteries and the ecclesiastical state; she facilitates it by all the other means that charity suggests; and thus it is, that in spite of the deep roots of slavery in ancient society—in spite of the perturbation caused by the irruption of the barbarians—in spite of so many wars and calamities of every kind, which in great measure paralyzed the effect of all regulating and beneficent action—we yet see slavery, that dishonor and leprosy of ancient civilization, rapidly diminish among christians, until it finally disappears. Certainly in all this we discover no plan conceived and concerted by men. But we do observe therein, in the absence of that plan, such unity of tendencies, such a perfect identity of views, and such similarity in the means, that we have the clearest demonstration of the civilizing and liberating spirit contained in Catholicity. Accurate observers will no doubt be gratified in beholding, in the picture which I have here exhibited, the admirable concord with which the period of the empire, that of the irruption of the barbarians, and that of feudality, all tended towards the same end. They will not regret the poor regularity which distinguishes the exclusive work of man; they will love, I repeat it, to collect all the facts scattered in seeming disorder, from the forests of Germany to the fields of Bœotia—from the banks of the Thames to those of the Tiber. I have not invented these facts; I have pointed out the periods, and cited the councils. The reader will find, at the end of the volume, in the original and in full, the texts

of which I have given an abstract or synopsis; thus he may fully convince himself that I have not deceived him."—"We may now inquire of M. Guizot what were the *other causes*, the *other ideas*, the *other principles of civilization*, the great development of which in his own words was necessary, 'to abolish this evil of evils, this iniquity of iniquities.'—Where is the idea, the custom, the institution, which, born on the outside of Christianity, contributed to the abolition of slavery? Let any one point out to us the epoch of its foundation, the time of its development; let him show us that it had not its origin in Christianity, and we will then confess that the latter cannot exclusively lay claim to the glorious title of having abolished that degraded condition; and he may be sure that this shall not prevent our exalting that idea, custom or institution, which took part in the great and noble enterprise of liberating the human race."—*P.* 114, 115.

There is only too much force in the following apostrophe, which is made eloquently to wind up the whole discussion, as directed towards a certain style of Protestantism that is ever ready to put itself forward as the whole interest in its true form. But we consider it, as already seen, a prostitution of this name; for its sympathies are against the honor of the Church and in league with infidelity and rationalism. The true Protestant faith rejoices in the glorious achievements of the old Catholic Church, and has no wish to rob her of a single leaf that belongs to the full foliage of her praise.

"We may be allowed now to inquire of the Protestant churches, of those ungrateful daughters, who, after having quitted the bosom of their mother, attempt to calumniate and dishonor her, Where were *you* when the Catholic Church accomplished in Europe the immense work of the abolition of slavery? and how can you venture to reproach her with sympathizing with servitude, degrading man, and usurping his rights? Can *you* then present any such claim, entitling you to the gratitude of the human race? What part can you claim in that great work, which prepared the way for the development and grandeur of European civilization? Catholicity alone, without your concurrence, completed the work; and she alone would have conducted Europe to its lofty destinies, if you had not come to interrupt the majestic march of its mighty nations, by urging them into a path bordered by precipices; a path, whose end is concealed by darkness which the eye of God alone can pierce."

True Protestantism of course cannot agree to this last thought, that the Reformation served only to interrupt the onward march

of civilization. It claims to be itself rather the proper legitimate succession and continuation of this glorious march. The precipices indeed are not to be disputed, and the darkness that shrouds the future is just now sufficiently appalling; but who shall say that all this is not the necessary condition of the general movement itself, a crisis that must needs be met and overcome in order to its full and final mastery of all the elements required to make it complete? The dangers that beset growth form no argument in favor of a perpetual childhood, however full of promise.

After having shown that it was Catholicity that removed the fundamental obstacle to all social progress, by cleansing Europe from the foul leprosy of slavery, our author goes on to consider its agency in the erection of the magnificent edifice itself which is now known by the name of European civilization; summing up first in brief statement its principal perfections, as follows:—"The individual animated by a lively sense of his own dignity, abounding in activity, perseverance, energy, and the simultaneous development of all his faculties; woman elevated to the rank of the consort of man, and as it were recompensed for the duty of obedience by the respectful regards lavished upon her; the gentleness and constancy of family ties, protected by the powerful guarantees of good order and justice; an admirable public conscience, rich in maxims of sublime morality, in laws of justice and equity, in sentiments of honor and dignity; a conscience which survives the shipwreck of private morality, and does not allow unblushing corruption to reach the height which it did in antiquity; a general mildness of manners, which in war prevents great excesses, and in peace renders life more tranquil and pleasing; a profound respect for man, and all that belongs to him, which makes private acts of violence very uncommon; and in all political constitutions serves as a salutary check on governments; an ardent desire of perfection in all departments; an irresistible tendency, sometimes ill-directed, but always active, to improve the condition of the many; a secret impulse to protect the weak, to succour the unfortunate—an impulse which sometimes pursues its course with generous ardor, and which, whenever it is unable to develop itself, remains in the heart of society, and produces there the uneasiness and inquietude of remorse; a cosmopolitan spirit of universality, of propagandism, an inexhaustible fund of resources to grow young again without danger of perishing, and for self-preservation in the most important junctures; a generous impatience, which longs to anticipate the future, and produces an incessant move-

ment and agitation, sometimes dangerous, but which are generally the germs of great benefits, and the symptoms of a strong principle of life. Such are the great characteristics which distinguish European civilization; such are the features which place it in a rank immensely superior to that of all other civilizations, ancient or modern."—*P.* 116.

"The mind, when contemplating European civilization, experiences so many different impressions, is attracted by so many objects, which at the same time claim its attention and preference, that, charmed by the magnificent spectacle, it is dazzled, and knows not where to commence the examination. The best way in such a case is to simplify, to decompose the complex object and reduce it to its simplest elements. *The individual, the family, and society*; these we have thoroughly to examine, and these ought to be the subjects of our inquiries. If we succeed in fully understanding these three elements, as they really are in themselves, and apart from the slight variations which do not effect their essence, European civilization, with all its riches and all its secrets, will be presented to our view, like a fertile and beautiful landscape lit up by the morning sun.—European civilization is in possession of the principal truths with respect to the individual, to the family, and to society; it is to this that it owes all that it is and all that it has. Nowhere have the true nature, the true relations and object of these three things been better understood than in Europe; with respect to them we have ideas, sentiments and views, which have been wanting in other civilizations. Now these ideas and feelings, strongly marked on the face of European nations, have inoculated their laws, manners, institutions, customs, and language; they are inhaled with the air, for they have impregnated the whole atmosphere with their vivifying aroma. To what is this owing? To the fact, that Europe, for many centuries, has had within its bosom a powerful principle, which preserves, propagates, and fructifies the truth; and it was especially in those times of difficulty, when the disorganized society had to assume a new form, that this regenerating principle had the greatest influence and ascendancy. Time has passed away, great changes have taken place, Catholicity has undergone vast vicissitudes in its power and influence on society; but civilization, its work, was too strong to be easily destroyed; the impulse which had been given to Europe was too powerful and well secured to be easily diverted from its course."—*P.* 117–118.

We have no room to follow the argument, in its treatment of these heads. On the subject of the *individual*, Balzac takes up

Guizot's notion of the feeling of personal independence belonging to the Northern barbarians, as having been one of the chief and most productive principles of European civilization, and shows it to be a pure fiction. The barbarian sentiment, such as it was, far from being an element of civilization, wrought powerfully in favor only of disorder and barbarism. Neither is it true, that the ancient nations, and particularly the Greeks and Romans, as Guizot pretends, had no taste for personal independence, no sense of themselves as individual men. What they wanted was the comprehension of the true and proper dignity of man, the sense of human personality as it comes to light only by the Gospel. Among the ancients the individual was violently overwhelmed by society as the stronger body; thus the blindest submission and annihilation was closely joined with the spirit of insubordination and rebellion, ready to burst forth continually in the most terrible explosions. Christianity, by setting men consciously in a relation to God which was higher than that which bound them to the State, had a powerful tendency to promote the sense of personal responsibility and so of personal independence. To her influence therefore alone, to the glorious education of the Church, and not to any heritage of savage life, is to be ascribed beyond all doubt the new and vastly exalted conception of man's personal nature, that enters so largely into the modern civilization, and that forms in it so striking a contrast with all the civilizations that have gone before.

If the individual owes so much in this way to the influence of Catholicity, it is clear that the obligation is not less in the case of the family. The improvement of the last is necessarily conditioned indeed by the light in which the first is regarded. But it turns specially, we may say, on the proper elevation of woman. It is acknowledged now on all hands, that woman owes everything to Christianity. No one will pretend however, that the work accomplished by it in her favor dates only from the sixteenth century. It falls far back into those ages of darkness and disorder that went before. It forms part of the vast process, by which the structure of modern society was slowly raised out of the chaos of barbarism, centuries before Protestantism was born; and it is to be referred here plainly, not to any accidental agencies that may have had place on the outside of the Church, but altogether to her teaching and discipline, perseveringly maintained in opposition to the downward tendencies with which she was surrounded. It was her powerful authority in this way alone, which served to raise woman to her proper rank as the companion of man, to clothe the idea of marriage with its true

sanctity, to fix its necessary metes and bounds by excluding polygamy and divorce, and thus to place the domestic constitution on the high footing it is found to occupy in the modern world. "If we but read the history of the middle ages, of that immense scene of violence, where the barbarian, striving to break the bonds which civilization attempted to impose on him, appears so vividly; if we recollect that the Church was obliged to keep guard incessantly and vigilantly, not only to prevent the ties of marriage from being broken, but even to preserve virgins, (and even those who were dedicated to God.) from violence; we shall clearly see, that if she had not opposed herself as a wall of brass to the torrent of sensuality, the palaces of kings and the castles of seigneurs would have speedily become their seraglios and harems. And what would have happened in the other classes? They would have followed the same course; and the women of Europe would have remained in the state of degradation in which the Mussulman women still are." Guizot refers the improvement of the family to the feudal system, and it is fashionable with others, we know, to make the spirit of chivalry a main cause of the dignity to which woman has been advanced in modern society. But what power was it that brought this better sentiment to pass, in the bosom of the old barbarian life? "If the feudal lord, returning to his castle, found one wife there, and not many, to what was that owing? Who forbade him to abuse his power, by turning his house into a harem? Who bridled his passions, and prevented his making victims of his timid vassals? Surely these were the doctrines and morals introduced into Europe by the Catholic Church; it was the strict laws which she imposed as a barrier to the invasions of the passions; therefore even if we suppose that feudalism did produce this good, it is owing still to the Catholic Church." Chivalry, instead of raising woman to the character of dignity it allows her, supposes her already raised and surrounded with respect. It has been attempted indeed to find the origin of its worship for her in the manners of the Germans, on the strength of some vague expressions used in regard to them by Tacitus. But even Guizot himself declares this to be of no force. Balme shows it to be absolutely absurd. "I do not see," he says at the close of his examination, "why we should seek in the forests of the barbarians for the origin of one of the finest attributes of our civilization, or why we should give to those nations virtues of which they showed so little evidence when they invaded the countries of the south." And what heart that beats in unison with the only true religion, we ask, can wish to see it robbed of any portion of its proper credit in this way?

Centuries of laborious training enter into the constitution of our modern society. Here is opened at once to our view the beneficent agency of the Church, in the ages before the Reformation, on a scale of the most magnificent grandeur, the like of which, nay the most remote approximation to which, is nowhere else to be seen in the whole compass of human history. Superficial observers they must be indeed who cannot perceive this fact, or who fail to be affected by it with any sort of respect or admiration. It is something very wonderful, that the Church, through so long a series of centuries and in the midst of so much darkness and sin, should have handed down the work of theology, of christian doctrine, in so complete a form to modern times. That errors and corruptions should have gathered upon it, needing in the end to be set aside by wise reformation, is not strange; the only wonder is rather, that *all* fell not into hopeless falsehood and confusion. And yet every candid scholar knows that this was not the case. The grand lines and angles of the true christian faith, the foundations and columns of the temple of orthodox doctrine, however disfigured with the carvings and trappings of superstition, are a work wrought out and perpetuated for the use of the world before the Reformation; and the entire right which this has to be regarded as coming from God, rests on its being the necessary inward completion of that ancient faith and not its radical subversion. But the ethical work of the old church is full as grand and imposing, to say the least, as the dogmatic. Balmes refers here with great force to the "public conscience" of modern European society, so rich in sublime maxims of morality, in rules of justice and equity, in sentiments of honor and dignity; of which for the most part so little account is made, just because it flows around us on all sides like the air of heaven, but which needs only to be set in comparison with what we find in other orders of civilization, to give us an idea of its immense superiority.

"Modern society, it would seem, ought to have inherited the corruption of the old, since it was formed out of its ruins, at a time when its morals were most dissolute. We must observe, that the irruption of the barbarians, far from improving society, contributed on the contrary to make it worse; and this, not only on account of the corruption belonging to their fierce and brutal manners, but also on account of the disorder introduced among the nations they invaded, by violating laws, throwing their manners and customs into confusion, and destroying all authority. Whence it follows that the improvement of public opinion among modern nations is a very singular fact; and that this pro-

gress can only be attributed to the influence of the active and energetic principle, which has existed in the bosom of Europe for so many centuries."—*P.* 160.

It is easy enough to find disorders which this new civilization has never yet succeeded in bringing to an end ; it is easy enough to find them in the bosom of the Church itself ; but the true occasion for admiration is, that in such circumstances as we know to have attended her career she was not completely borne down and carried away by the tide of barbarism, that as a system her voice and arm were steadily exerted in favor of virtue and right, and that her power in this direction gradually brought to pass the magnificent moral result which we see accomplished at the close of these barbarous times.

Manners have been imbued in modern society with a certain gentleness and mildness, of which the civilization of the ancient world had no conception. Our author refers here to the public spectacles of the Romans, among other facts, in evidence of the brutal spirit with which they were animated ; in which connection he is forced, as a Spaniard, to take some notice of the reproach cast upon his own country for her bull-fights. The practice is honestly condemned, whilst occasion is taken however to show that it is a very small abuse indeed as compared with the bloody tragedies of the old amphitheatre. Whence has the improvement of modern manners come ? Manifestly from the Church. She was the fountain of order and law, when no conservative power besides could make itself felt. Age after age she wrestled with the wild passions of barbarous or half-barbarous men, laboring in all ways to subdue them to the idea of right and mercy, to put an end to violence, to make reason and justice of more force than blind self-will. Not only her doctrine, but her discipline also, was always powerfully turned in this direction. Ecclesiastical decrees and canons, passed by council after council, are still extant furnishing the most ample testimony to this fact. In all available ways, and at all times, we find this benign power, the genius of a new social creation, interposing its august sanctions on the side of the weak and defenceless against all sorts of lawlessness and wrong, offering itself as the asylum of the oppressed, and moulding the usages and sentiments of a barbarous period to the law of christian charity and peace.

"In what spirit," our author exclaims after glancing at some examples here in point, "must they read the history of the Church, who do not feel the beauty of the picture presented to us by the multitude of regulations, scarcely indicated here, all

tending to protect the weak against the strong? The clergy and monks, on account of the weakness consequent on their peaceful profession, find in the canons which we have just quoted peculiar protection; but the same is granted to females, to pilgrims, to merchants, to villagers travelling or engaged in rural labors, and to beasts of labor—in a word, to all that is weak; and observe that this protection is not a mere passing effort of generosity, but a system practised in widely different places, continued for centuries, developed and applied by all the means that charity suggests—a system inexhaustible in resources and contrivances, both in producing good and in preventing evil. And surely it cannot be said that the Church was influenced in this by views of self-interest: what interested motive could she have in preventing the spoliation of an obscure traveller, the violence inflicted on a poor laborer, or the insult offered to a defenceless woman? The spirit which then animated her, whatever might be the abuses which were introduced during unhappy times, was as it now is the spirit of God himself—that spirit which continually communicates to her so marked an inclination towards goodness and justice, and always urges her to realize by any possible means her sublime desires. I leave the reader to judge, whether or not the constant efforts of the Church to banish the dominion of force from the bosom of society were likely to improve manners.”—*P.* 183.

The amelioration of manners is closely connected with the spirit of public beneficence. This was unknown among the ancients. Individuals may have been beneficent in some instances, but all public charity was wanting. No regard was had by society as such to the unfortunate. Hence, among other abuses, infanticide and slavery prevailed on all sides. The Church set her face steadily against these evils. But the case required far more than this. A vast system of charitable sentiment and charitable action was to be formed in the bosom of society, directed towards the relief and support of all classes of the indigent and wretched. Our familiarity with this now prevents us from seeing its greatness and difficulty. Let us however transport ourselves in thought to the time when all was unknown, when there was not even the first idea of beneficence in any such form, and we may then be able to do some justice perhaps to the merits of that mighty spiritual agent through which so great a work was brought to pass. “It is one thing to found and maintain an establishment of this kind, when a great number of similar ones already exist—when governments possess immense resources, and strength sufficient to protect all interests; but it is

a very different thing to establish a multitude of them in all places, when there is no model to be copied, when it is necessary to *improvise* in a thousand ways the indispensable resources—when public authority has no *prestige* or force to control the violent passions that struggle to gain every thing on which they can feed. Now in modern times, since the existence of Protestantism, the first only of these things has been done; the second was accomplished centuries before by the Catholic Church; and let it be observed, that what has been done in Protestant countries in favor of public beneficence, has been done by acts of government, acts which were necessarily inspired by the view of the happy results already obtained from similar institutions.”

Hospitals, and other kindred institutions, come into view from the earliest times, under the charge of the bishops, and as an object of special canonical legislation. The learned know what the ancient *diaconies* were—places of charity, where poor widows, orphans, old men, and other unfortunate persons, found refuge and support. The irruption of the barbarians tended to overthrow all previous provisions for the relief of the poor, while it multiplied misery and want in every direction. Did the Church succumb to this torrent of desolation? By no means. She only girded herself with new zeal to the task she had before assumed. She proclaimed herself continually the guardian of the poor and needy. She made every effort to save the property which had been before consecrated to their use, and set herself to devise new means and ways for their relief, answerable always to the new forms of want with which she was surrounded. The evidence of this abounds in the canons of councils, held in the most unsettled and barbarous times. In the sixth century, we find regulations requiring every town to maintain its own poor. Lepers are placed under the special care of the bishops, who must see that they were provided with food and clothing out of the church funds. “Zeal for improving the condition of prisoners, a kind of charity which has been so much displayed in modern times, is extremely ancient in the Church. In the sixth century there was already an inspector of prisons; the archdeacon or the provost of the church was obliged to visit prisoners on all Sundays; no class of criminals was excluded from the benefit of this solicitude. The archdeacon was bound to learn their wants, and to furnish them, by means of a person recommended by the bishop, with food and all they stood in need of. This was ordered by the 20th canon of the council of Orleans held in 549.” These are only hints of what was done by the Church in the service of charity, through the long night of the

Middle Ages. Errors and abuses may have attended the work in some of its details. But it is a miserable spirit that can be blinded by these to the majesty that belongs to it as a whole, or that is hindered in this way from seeing and acknowledging the stupendous result to which it has led in the sum total of what we call modern civilization.

A truly beautiful and sublime exemplification of the benevolent spirit of the Church, is presented to us by the religious orders for the redemption of captives instituted in the thirteenth century. Through all previous ages, as we have before seen, this object was one that lay specially near to the catholic heart. In the period now mentioned however it acquired a peculiar prominence, by reason of the long wars in which the Christian world had come to be involved with the Infidels. "In consequence of these, a very great number of the faithful groaned in fetters, deprived of their liberty and country, and often in danger of apostatizing from the faith of their fathers. The Moors still occupied a considerable part of Spain; they reigned exclusively on the coasts of Africa, and proudly triumphed in the East, where the Crusaders had been vanquished. The Infidels thus held the south of Europe closely confined, and were constantly able to seize favorable moments, and procure multitudes of christian slaves. The revolutions and disorders of those times continually offered favorable opportunities; both hatred and cupidity urged them to gratify their revenge on the christians taken unawares. We may be sure that this was one of the severest scourges, which the human race had to endure at that time in Europe." If charity was to be anything more than a mere name, here was a case certainly which it had no right to overlook; and rude and dark as the times were, we find the spirit of religion spontaneously setting itself in motion on a grand scale for its relief. It gives birth to the idea of a vast association, which reaching through different countries might become a general repository for the alms of such as wished to assist in so good a work, while it should have in its service a certain number of persons always ready to traverse the seas, and brave every danger, for the redemption of their brethren in captivity. Such was the want, such the idea of what was needed to meet it; and, lo! the "Orders for the Redemption of Captives," the holy institutes of Mercy and of the Trinity, as they were called, make their appearance. Devoted men are seized with the idea of consecrating, not only their property, but their entire persons, to the service of christian charity in this great work. Around them rally others of similar spirit. "The religious who em-

braced these orders bound themselves by vow to the work for which they were formed. Free from the embarrassments of family relations and worldly interests, they could devote themselves to their task with all the ardor of their zeal. Long voyages, the perils of the sea, the danger of unhealthy climates, or the ferocity of the Infidels—nothing stopped them. In their dress, in the prayers of their institution, they found a constant remembrance of the vow which they had taken in the Divine presence. Neither repose, comfort, nor even their very lives, any longer belong to them; all are become the property of the unhappy captives, who groan in the dungeons or wear heavy chains in the presence of their masters, on the other side of the **Mediterranean**. The families of the unhappy victims, fixing their eyes on the religious, required of him the accomplishment of his promise; their groans and lamentations continually urge him to find means, and to expose his life if necessary, to restore the father to the son, the son to the father, the husband to the wife, the innocent young girl to her desolate mother."

Must we obstinately close our eyes to the loveliness of this whole picture, because it belongs to the "dark ages," because it rests under the full shadow of the Papacy, because it is linked with the idea of celibacy and monastic vows, because we find it enveloped historically in a nimbus of superstition? God forbid. We hail it rather as a glorious commentary on the power of Christianity; we feel ourselves spiritually moved and quickened by the evidence it affords of the Saviour's presence among his people, the argument it supplies thus for the truth of his religion. Why should we make less of it in this view than we make of the zeal of the early martyrs—which, we know well enough, was by no means pure and perfect always in its associations? Why should we make less of it even than we make of the sacrifices and efforts of modern Protestant benevolence; which in the shape of Missionary Societies, Bible Societies, Tract Societies, &c., is regarded by many as completely eclipsing in liberality all that the world has ever known of charity through all ages before? How many of our Tabernacle orators after all, who fill the land every second week in May with the glorification of this theme, are willing themselves to become missionaries to the heathen even as the world now stands; and yet where are the cases now, in which the sacrifices and perils of the missionary life, all deserving of honor as it is, can at all be compared with what was involved in the service of those who gave themselves up, in the way here shown, to the work of rescuing their fellow christians from captivity in the thirteenth century!

It is fashionable to charge the Church with having been, before the Reformation, the enemy of science and civil liberty. To listen to some, we might suppose that she was no better than an organized conspiracy against the most precious rights of mankind, under this form, from the sixth century down to the sixteenth. Had she only been out of the way, so that men might have been left simply to the guidance of the Bible and private judgment, whole centuries of darkness and confusion, it seems to be imagined, might have been happily avoided, and the course of modern civilization hastened perhaps a thousand years. The writer before us shows we think very triumphantly, that the common slang of Pseudo-protestantism on this subject, is fully as much at war with the voice of true history as it is with the spirit of true religion. It is simply slanderous and false, to say that the Church has been during the middle ages the enemy either of knowledge or of freedom, or that her influence was exerted systematically and intentionally to keep back the progress of light and civilization. She was the guardian emphatically of all the higher interests of society. The state of the world, and her relation to it, made it necessary indeed that she should assume powers and exercise an authority, which were not to be measured exactly by any ordinary rule. This however proceeded not so much from any spirit of usurpation on her part, as from the mere presence of a social void and want that could be filled from no other quarter and in no other way. "The temporal power of the Popes was strengthened and extended at a time, when no other power was as yet really constituted. To call that power usurpation therefore is not merely an inaccuracy—it is an anachronism. In the general confusion brought upon all European society by the irruptions of the barbarians, in that strange medley of races, laws, manners and traditions, there remained only one solid foundation for the structure of the edifice of civilization and refinement, only one luminous body to shine upon the chaos, only one element capable of giving life to the germ of regeneration that lay buried in blood stained ruins; Christianity, predominant over and annihilating the remains of other religions, arose in this age of desolation like a solitary column in the centre of a ruined city, or like a bright beacon amid darkness." The barbarians bowed to the authority of this power, as the only one that carried in it any principle of order, or that offered any promise of stability. "Wars succeeded to wars, convulsions to convulsions, the forms of society were continually changing; but the one great general and dominant fact, the stability and influence of religion, remained still the same: and it

is ridiculous in any man to declaim against a phenomenon so natural, so inevitable, and above all so advantageous, designating it a succession of usurpations of temporal power." Where all was chaos, there could be properly no usurpation. The right to rule fell where there was ability to rule. It is dishonest to try such times by the standard of a settled and well ordered social state. The power to regenerate society, in the middle ages, lay wholly in the Church. On her devolved accordingly, as by Divine commission, the sovereign care of society and the duty of training it for its proper destiny. Was this providential trust then abused in its actual administration? Did the Church exercise her guardianship over the infant nations of Europe, in such a way as instead of assisting to repress their upward tendencies, in such a way as to retard rather than to advance their progress in true civilization? We have seen already that she was a fountain of order and law; that she brought society into regular and settled form; that she caused the wilderness to become a fruitful field; that she curbed the passions of men, and set bounds to their violence; that she led them to dwell in families, and to cultivate the domestic virtues; that she inoculated manners with a new spirit of gentleness and peace; that she raised the standard of morality, and purified the public conscience, far beyond all that was known in the ancient world; that she established a reign and fashion of benevolence, such as had not previously entered the wildest dreams of philanthropy. We have seen all this, and have felt that a power so employed could not well be at war with the best interests of humanity. But was it after all the power only of a humane and well disposed master towards his slaves, or say even of a father towards his sons, who at the same time is bent on holding them always in full subjection to his own will, and so takes care that their education shall not be allowed to lead them either to the knowledge or to the free use of their personal rights? Did this Holy Mother, in the midst of all her wonderfully powerful and salutary educational activity, still show herself faithless and selfish in the whole trust, by resisting the general diffusion of knowledge and the legitimate progress of freedom? The supposition is in its own nature most unnatural and improbable, and to compare it with history, as already said, is at once to find it absolutely false. The Church has never been the deliberate enemy either of liberty or of letters.

Here naturally rises at once the thought of the religious intolerance so often charged to the account of the old Catholic Church, the persecutions she has allowed against heretics and

infidels, the horrors in particular of the Inquisition. "It is only necessary to pronounce the word intolerance," says Balmes, "to raise in the minds of some people all sorts of black and horrible ideas." Institutions and men of past times are condemned without appeal, the moment they come under the sound of this reproach. No pains are taken for the most part to understand the real posture of the past, or to judge it according to its own connections and relations. And yet what can be more unfair than this? How easily may any institution be covered with disgrace, if only its inconveniences and evils are brought into view and every consideration suppressed that might speak in its favor. By fixing on certain points only in the annals of the human mind, the history of science may be made the history of folly, and even of crime. So in the case before us. "The spirit of the age, particular circumstances, and an order of things quite different from ours, are all forgotten, and the history of the religious intolerance of Catholics is composed by taking care to condense into a few pages, and to paint in the blackest colors," cases of cruelty and severity diligently collected from different countries and centuries. Events wide apart are made to unite in a single impression, without the least regard to intervening scenery. It is easy in this way to bring out wholesale judgments. But such judgments are of small account in the end for the cause of truth. This question of toleration too, as all thinking men know, is in its own nature by no means of so easy settlement as this summary way of looking at the matter implies. Without entering into it here however, it is enough to know that a wide difference in regard to it has come to exist between the present time and the past. A spirit of toleration now prevails, right or wrong, which in former ages was unknown. But is this due to Protestantism, or as is sometimes said to modern philosophy? Not at all. It is a fact slowly brought to pass by the force of circumstances. "The multitude of religions, infidelity, indifference, the improvement of manners, the lassitude produced by wars,—industrial and commercial organization, which every day becomes more powerful in society,—communication rendered more frequent among men by means of travelling—the diffusion of ideas by the press; such are the causes which have produced in Europe that universal tolerance which has taken possession of all, and has been established in fact when it could not be by law. These causes, as it is easy to observe, are of different kinds; no doctrine can pretend to an exclusive influence; they are the result of a thousand different influences, acting simultaneously on the development of civilization."

We are glad to see, that while our author protests against the injustice of trying the opinions and institutions of past ages by the altogether different order of thought that has come to prevail in our own, and finds a relative apology even for the tribunal of the Inquisition itself in the social circumstances under which it appeared and prevailed, he does not feel himself bound at all to make common cause with the crimes that have been perpetrated in the name of christianity against supposed heretics. "The Massacre of St. Bartholomew," he tells us, "and other atrocities committed in the name of religion, ought not to trouble the apologists of religion. To render her responsible for all that has been done in her name, would be to act with manifest injustice. Man is endowed with so strong and lively a sense of the excellence of virtue, that he endeavors to cover the greatest crimes with her mantle; would it be reasonable to banish virtue from the earth on that account? There are, in the history of mankind, terrible periods, where a fatal giddiness seizes upon the mind; rage, influenced by disorder, blinds the intellect and changes the heart; evil is called good, and good evil; the most horrible attempts are made under the most respectable names. Historians and philosophers, in treating of such periods, should know what ought to be their line of conduct; strictly accurate in the narration of such facts, they ought to beware of drawing from them a judgment as to the prevailing ideas and institutions. Society then resembles a man in a state of delirium. We should ill judge of the ideas, character and conduct, of such a man, from what he says and does in that deplorable condition. What party, in such calamitous times, can boast of not having committed great crimes? If we fix our eyes on the period just mentioned, do we not see the leaders of both parties assassinated by treason?—Let us throw a veil over these catastrophes, over these afflicting proofs of the misery and perversity of the human heart."—*P.* 204.

It is noted as a curious fact, well worthy of serious consideration, that the charge of being hostile to the right political progress of society has been brought against Catholicity, at different times, from directly opposite points of view. Formerly the fashion was to represent it as the enemy of kings, because it made the seat of power to be primarily in the people, and taught that temporal sovereigns may be resisted if need be, in certain circumstances, even to the extent of revolution itself. But since the revolutionary spirit has come to be in the ascendant, that old tone is found to be widely changed; and the very same power that was held before to be at the bottom of a conspiracy against

all other thrones, in favor of the universal supremacy of the Pope, is now declared to be in league with the general cause of monarchy to crush and kill every motion of liberty among the people. The radicals of Europe, we know, are full of this cry; and among ourselves also it may be said to be a reigning opinion, that the religious power in question is constitutionally opposed to everything like republicanism, and it is easily taken for granted accordingly that it has entered into an infamous pact with kings to oppress, enslave, and degrade the unfortunate human race. We pretend not here to try at all the true merits of this latter judgment. We refer to it simply as something curiously in contrast with the other reproach of an earlier time.

But whatever may be the actual spirit of Rome as it now stands, it is perfectly certain that the reigning influence of the Church, in the ages before the Reformation, went in favor of sound political liberty throughout, and that it was under her auspices mainly and especially that this interest gained ground continually more and more in the onward course of modern civilization. This is very successfully shown, we think, in the latter portion of Balmes' work; and we only wish that these chapters in particular might be read and studied by those, who without any historical knowledge whatever so flippantly pretend to settle the whole subject in just the contrary way. Here are facts, which these wholesale revilers of religion would do well at least to look in the face, if it were only to set aside the force they *seem* to have, and thus show their own zeal to be intelligent where it is now so deplorably blind.

The great problem in politics, is to determine the proper relation between authority and freedom, the idea of duties in one direction and the idea of rights in another. This connects itself again closely with the question, *What is the origin of civil power?* It so happens that a good deal of attention has come to be fixed on this subject, just at the present time in our own country, by the late action of the General Government in regard to slavery. In one direction, we hear views maintained, in the name of individual conscience, that go to upset civil authority altogether. These proceed openly or tacitly on the assumption, that government is a mere social contract on the part of the people, to be set aside by them at their own pleasure. On the opposite side it is more soundly contended, that government comes from God, and that obedience to it is a duty for its own sake; though it must be confessed that this doctrine, in the hands at least of some of its republican advocates, is pressed so far as to sound very much like a revival of the old "divine right" theory

of kings, (commonly taken heretofore to have gone to the tomb of the Capulets,) and savors strongly of being the fruit of Political Economy, rather than the genuine outbirth of Political Ethics. But now, be this as it may, one thing is certain. This whole better doctrine, of which the *New York Observer* for instance has been making a merit over against the too consistently Puritan tendency of the *N. Y. Independent*, and for the defence of which more than one eloquent preacher has succeeded in winning golden compliments from Daniel Webster and other distinguished civilians, is one that belongs in all its fulness to the old Catholic Church of the middle ages, and that was applied by her to the development of the present civilization of Europe, we may say from the very start, not in a blind and clumsy form, but with a depth and breadth of discrimination the like of which is not to be found anywhere in the best of these modern efforts.

The Church has ever disowned the idea of a social contract, as lying at the foundation of government. Civil power, she tells us, comes from God, and is to be obeyed from a regard to his will. The old writers are full of the most clear instruction in regard to all this. Aquinas in particular, it would seem, has explained and guarded the subject on all sides in the most masterly way.

On the other hand however, this divine right of government is not taken to be the special prerogative of a class, rulers separately considered, but is made to spring from the political body in its general character. The common doctrine of the church has been, that such power resides in the community directly and by natural right, but in kings and other rulers merely indirectly and by human right, unless God has given it to particular persons by his own direct nomination. No mistake can be greater, than that by which the exaggeration of the authority of rulers, at the cost of popular rights, is held to be the natural and necessary doctrine of Catholicism, as distinguished from the genius of Protestantism. History plainly teaches a different lesson. It was Protestantism in the beginning of its career, that stood forward strangely enough as the flatterer and helper of kings. In its opposition to the Papacy, it was led naturally to exalt to an incredible degree the pretensions of the civil power. This was appealed to against the religious power, and encouraged to usurp the supreme control of ecclesiastical affairs. The regal authority was thus assisted powerfully in the direction it had already begun to take, through the decline of the feudal system and the still unripe character of the popular element, towards an undue absorption into itself of all other political forces. It became the

fashion to insist on the divine right of kings, as coming directly from God without the intervention of society. How far this theory was carried in Protestant England, we need not be told; the influence of it however was felt throughout Europe generally; and it is easy enough to see that it stood in close connection everywhere with the protest which was now made against the supremacy of the Church. We find the Catholic theologians accordingly vigorously opposing it as dangerous and false.

"Political power," says Bellarmin, "emanates from God alone; for being necessarily annexed to man's nature, it proceeds from Him who has made that nature. It resides primarily in the body of the people. The divine right has not given it to any man in particular. The people transfer it to one person or more by natural right. Particular forms of government accordingly are by the law of nations, and not by divine law, since it depends on the consent of the multitude to place over themselves a king, consuls, or other magistrates, as may seem best; and for a legitimate reason, they can change royalty into aristocracy, or into democracy, or *vice versa*, as it was done in Rome." To King James of England this doctrine sounded monstrous in the extreme. He said to his parliament: "that God had appointed him absolutely master; and that all privileges which co-legislative bodies enjoyed were pure concessions proceeding from the bounty of kings." Against Bellarmin's doctrine he showed himself all on fire, contending that kings hold their power *not* from the people, but *immediately* from God; for all which his supple courtiers proclaimed him a second Solomon. This called out the learned Spanish Jesuit Suarez, in his "Defence of the Catholic and Apostolic Faith against the Errors of the Anglican Sect," with special reference to *the most serene James, King of England*—addressed to the most serene Kings and Princes generally of the christian world. In this work the view of Bellarmin is ably supported as true and just, whilst the English doctrine is treated as new and singular, and as having been invented apparently to exalt the temporal over the spiritual power. The whole case furnishes a curious illustration of the political bearings of the Catholic and Protestant systems at the time in question, so different from what is often taken to be their respective necessary tendencies and affinities.

The separation of the temporal and spiritual powers, and the independence of the latter with respect to the former, have had much to do no doubt with the formation of that spirit of liberty which is characteristic of modern civilization. "Ever since the foundation of the Church, this principle of the independence of

the spiritual power has at all times served, by the mere fact of its existence, to remind men that the rights of civil power are limited, that there are things beyond its province, cases in which a man may say, and ought to say, *I will not obey.*" Strange that the advocates of equilibrium and counterpoise, who make so much of the policy of dividing powers to prevent tyranny, should not have felt the profound wisdom of this old church doctrine even in a simply political view. But we find, on the contrary, that all modern revolutions have shown a decided tendency towards the amalgamation of the civil and ecclesiastical powers; "a convincing proof," as Balmes shrewdly observes, "that these revolutions have proceeded from an origin *contrary* to the generative principle of European civilization, and that instead of guiding it towards perfection, they have rather served to lead it astray."

It is historically certain, that European society as a whole, in the period before the Reformation, was steadily advancing in the direction of a rational safe liberty. The problem by which the several interests of the throne, the aristocracy, and the mass of the people, were to be rightly guarded and carried forward in the onward movement of civilization, so as by just harmony to serve and not hinder the true welfare of all, was one of vast difficulty, which however in the face of manifold disturbing forces we may see still approximating at least more and more towards its own full and proper solution. The simple position of these several elements relatively to each other, at the going out of the middle ages, is of itself enough to show how false it is to represent the old Catholicity as the enemy of popular liberty; for we see that European civilization at this time, after having been for so many centuries under the sole guardianship of that power, presented no one of these interests as exclusively predominant. "Survey the whole of Europe, and you will not find one country in which the same fact did not exist. In Spain, France, England, Germany, under the names of Cortes, States-General, Parliaments, or Diets; the same thing everywhere, with the simple modifications which necessarily result from circumstances adapted to each people. And what is very remarkable in this case is, that if there be a single exception it is in favor of liberty; and strange to say, this exists precisely in Italy, where the influence of the Popes is immediately felt. The names of the Republics of Genoa, Pisa, Sienna, Florence, Venice, are familiar to all. It is well known that Italy is the country in which popular forms at that period gained most ground, and in which they were put in practice when in other countries

they had already abandoned the field.—These forms of government were attended indeed with grave inconveniences; but since so much is said of *spirit* and *tendencies*, since the Catholic Church is reproached with her affinity to despotism, and the Popes with a taste for oppression, it is well to adduce these facts as suited to throw some doubt on the confident assertions oftentimes paraded as so many philosophico-historical dogmas on this subject."

We have no room to say more than a word on the other current topic of reproach, the alledged unfriendliness of the church before the Reformation to the cause of literature and science. No one who has any knowledge of history will deny that a very active interest had begun to be taken in the general cause of knowledge before this time. The movements of it enter largely into the whole culture of Europe as it now stands. But will it be imagined in any quarter, that this spirit came from the outside of the Church, and prevailed against her pleasure and in spite of her authority? To ask the question is to show its absurdity. The intellectual development of modern Europe started under an exclusively theological form. Religion formed the element, out of which it sprang and from which it drew all its activity and force. Whatever we find to be then its advancing history, it must be regarded as the product of this power, and the merit of it must be placed to its account. There were indeed tendencies almost from the beginning of the movement, that set themselves in more or less direct opposition to the Church, and on which accordingly she laid to some extent her restraining hand. But it is notorious that these were of no value comparatively for the cause of true learning. What was done for it by all the unchurchly sects of the middle ages? Who believes seriously that *they* had any power whatever in themselves to be helpers truly to such a cause, under any circumstances? Guizot quotes John Erigena, Roscelin, and Abelard, as the representatives of a reaction of the individual reason against the authority of the Church, which is supposed to have commenced in their time and to have reached forward to the age of Luther, as a sort of new and separate power exerted in favor of knowledge and free thought. But this comes to mere idle declamation in the end. What actual result of real lasting account for the progress of mind can be shown to have proceeded from any such quarter, as compared with what was accomplished by the action of the proper church life itself in favor of the same interest? The greatest scholars in these ages of waking intelligence, the men whose influence contributed most to the progress of all

sound science, were at the same time the most faithful sons of the Church, and such as owned the most dutiful allegiance to her authority and power.

It is a most childish fancy certainly, to suppose that the revival of learning began properly with the sixteenth century. It dates at least from the eleventh; and there is abundance of evidence that the progress made between that and the age of the Reformation, was quite as real and important as any that has taken place since. All sorts of learning were in active exercise before Protestantism came in, to share their credit with the Roman Church. So in the case of criticism, controversy, and the learned languages, Latin, Greek and Hebrew. "Anthony de Nebrija, Erasmus, Ludovicus Vives, Laurence Villa, Leonardus Aretinus, Bembo, Sadolet, Poggio, Melchior Cano, and many others too numerous to mention; were they trained in Protestantism? Did not the Popes, moreover, take the lead in this literary movement? Who patronized the learned with greater liberality? Who supplied them with more abundant resources? Who incurred greater expenses in the purchase of the best manuscripts?"—"In Italy the study of Greek was first seriously commenced; from Italy it spread to France, and to the other European States." Reuchlin and Picus de Mirandula, the great promoters of a taste for Greek and Hebrew, were Catholics. As early as the beginning of the fourteenth century indeed, Pope Clement V., had ordained that Greek and Hebrew, and even Arabic and Chaldean, should be publicly taught, for the benefit of foreigners, at Rome, at Paris, at Oxford, at Bologna, and at Salamanca.¹

¹ "One of the causes which contributed the most to the development of the human mind was the creation of great centres of instruction, collecting the most illustrious talents and learning, and diffusing rays of light in all directions. I know not how men could forget that this idea was not due to the pretended Reformation, seeing that most of the universities of Europe were established long before the birth of Luther. That of Oxford was founded in 895; Cambridge in 1280; that of Prague, in Bohemia, in 1358; that of Louvain, in Belgium, in 1425; that of Vienna, in Austria, in 1365; that of Ingolstadt, in Germany, in 1372; that of Leipsic, in 1408; that of Basle, in Switzerland, in 1469; that of Salamanca, in 1200; that of Alcalá, in 1517. It would be superfluous to notice the antiquity of the universities of Paris, of Bologna, of Ferrara, and of a great many others, which obtained the highest renown long before the advent of Protestantism. The Popes, it is well known, took an active part in the establishment of universities, granting them privileges, and bestowing upon them the highest honors and distinctions. How can any one then venture to assert, that Rome has opposed the progress of learning and the sciences, in order to keep the people in darkness and ignorance."—*Balmes*, p. 415.

The whole object of our Spanish author, as we have before said, is to bring out an argument against Protestantism, from a comparison of its influence with that of Catholicism, as both have been felt in the work of modern civilization. In this comparison however the book is extremely onesided and incomplete; not by the exaggeration of the merits of Catholicism as this stood before the age of the Reformation, but by the want of a correspondingly full and thorough analysis of the actual results of Protestantism. It seems to be assumed throughout, that whatever tells positively in favor of the course of things before Protestantism appeared, must be taken to tell negatively for this cause since; as though both orders of life might not contribute, in different periods, to the progress of one and the same movement. Then the eye of the writer is ever on the *excesses* into which the protest against authority is running, particularly in Europe at this time, in the form of rationalism and political radicalism; which are indeed just now sufficiently alarming, but still do not at once amount to a philosophical solution of the whole meaning and value of the general movement from which they incidentally spring. They *may* be, (God grant it), a crisis only, opening the way into a brighter era beyond. And might it not have been necessary to meet and overcome the same, in some other form, even if the progress of modern culture could have gone forward without the church rupture of the 16th century? Our American society, and so of course also the new "American Epoch" which is dawning on the history of Protestantism by means of it, Balmes may be said entirely to overlook. His vision is altogether engrossed with the social difficulties and dangers of Europe.

It is easy enough, of course, to place the comparative influence of the two systems in question, on the progress of civilization, under a very different historical view, that shall be felt to tell powerfully in favor of Protestantism and against Rome. This does not require us to vilify and disparage the Church of previous ages. We allow it rather all the merit here claimed for it, as the founder and builder of modern society on to the sixteenth century. The question regards the *continuation* of the work since. Protestantism, in its true form, proclaims itself, not the destroyer of the older work, but its proper finisher, or at least its necessary helper towards completion. It is to be taken as itself, in such view, the greatest birth of the Latin Church, (such as the dead Greek communion never could produce,) and so the truest and best succession also of its old life; by the power of which palpably the main stream of history has gone for-

ward, since the age of the Reformation. Under such view, and within such range, the historical parallel between the two systems, we say, may very easily be turned impressively in favor of Protestantism.

Who can well help feeling the force, for instance, of the following picture of the influence of the Church of Rome, from the eloquent pen of Macaulay: "During the last three centuries to stunt the growth of the human mind has been her chief object. Throughout Christendom, whatever advance has been made in knowledge, in freedom, in wealth, and in the arts of life, has been made in spite of her, and has every where been in the inverse proportion to her misguided power. The loveliest and most fertile provinces of Europe have, under her rule, been sunk in poverty, in political servitude and intellectual torpor; while Protestant countries, once proverbial for sterility and barbarism, have been turned by skill and industry into gardens, and can boast of a long list of heroes and statesmen, philosophers and poets. Whoever, knowing what Italy and Scotland naturally are, and what four hundred years ago they actually were, should now compare the country around Rome with the country around Edinburgh, will be able to form some judgment as to the tendency of Papal domination. The descent of Spain, once the first among monarchies, to the lowest depths of degradation; the elevation of Holland, in spite of many natural disadvantages, to a position such as no commonwealth so small has ever reached, teach the same lesson. Whoever passes in Germany, from a Roman Catholic to a Protestant principality; in Switzerland, from a Roman Catholic to a Protestant canton; in Ireland, from a Roman Catholic to a Protestant county, finds that he has passed from a lower to a higher grade of civilization. On the other side of the Atlantic the same law prevails. The Protestants of the United States have left far behind them the Roman Catholics of Mexico, Peru, and Brazil. The Roman Catholics of Lower Canada remain inert, while the whole continent around them is in a ferment with Protestant activity and enterprise."¹

¹ Compare with this a fine passage to the same effect, in Schaff's *Principle of Protestantism*, p. 96-98. "Traverse the lands in which Protestantism has fixed its seat," says the author, "from the northern boundary of Sweden to the Sandwich Islands, from the southern declivities of the Himalayah to the banks of the Mississippi; almost everywhere you may find theologians victoriously contending against infidelity and superstition; preachers, who like Paul are not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ Crucified, but hold all the glory

The force of this comparison would seem to be very plain; and we can only wonder therefore, when we find such a man as Brownson treating it as a nullity, or worse still insisting that the social state of Protestant countries is less sound and promising than that of Spain for instance, or Austria, or France. "In all Protestant nations," he tells us lately, "faith is gone, morality is gone, and principle is gone. The least depraved among them may vie not unsuccessfully, in immorality and unnatural crimes, with the more depraved nations of heathen antiquity" (*Review for Jan. 1851, p. 106*). To talk at this rate is not to argue but to rail. Mere material prosperity, we grant, is no sure sign or proof of true social improvement; and it is plain enough that the forces which at present make up the reigning power of what may be called our Protestant civilization, in Europe and in this country, will never be able with such form and direction as they now have to bring society to its right end. The higher power of religion, the moulding and controuling agency of the Church, in a way not now known, must come in to save the whole process from confusion and defeat. Protestantism itself needs a mighty regeneration, a new creation we may say, to fulfil in the end its own most critical and perilous mission. But all this may not blind us to the clear fact, that a real onward impulse has been communicated by it notwithstanding to the life of the modern world. This in itself considered is a gain, however much may be wanting still to make it complete; and as far as it goes may be justly quoted always, as a fair and legitimate argument in favor of the Protestant cause.

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of the world in contempt for its sake; a strict moral order; a blooming-domestic life; a familiarity with the Bible; an inward freedom and joy of faith; such as you may seek in vain in the very centre itself of the Church of Rome. There is still sufficient salt in the system, with all its diseases, to save it from corruption.—Only blindness itself can deny, that Protestantism still continues the great moving power of the time; holding the helm of the world's political and spiritual history; whilst every other form of action comes to have deep significance only as standing with it in either hostile or friendly relation." If the cause of Protestantism is to be successfully maintained at all, it must be on the general ground taken in this tract; than which, we hesitate not to say, no more honest or able plea for it has ever yet appeared in our country.